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AN ENGLISHMAN
AND THE
MEXICAN INQUISITION
1556-1560.

PRINTED IN MEXICO.



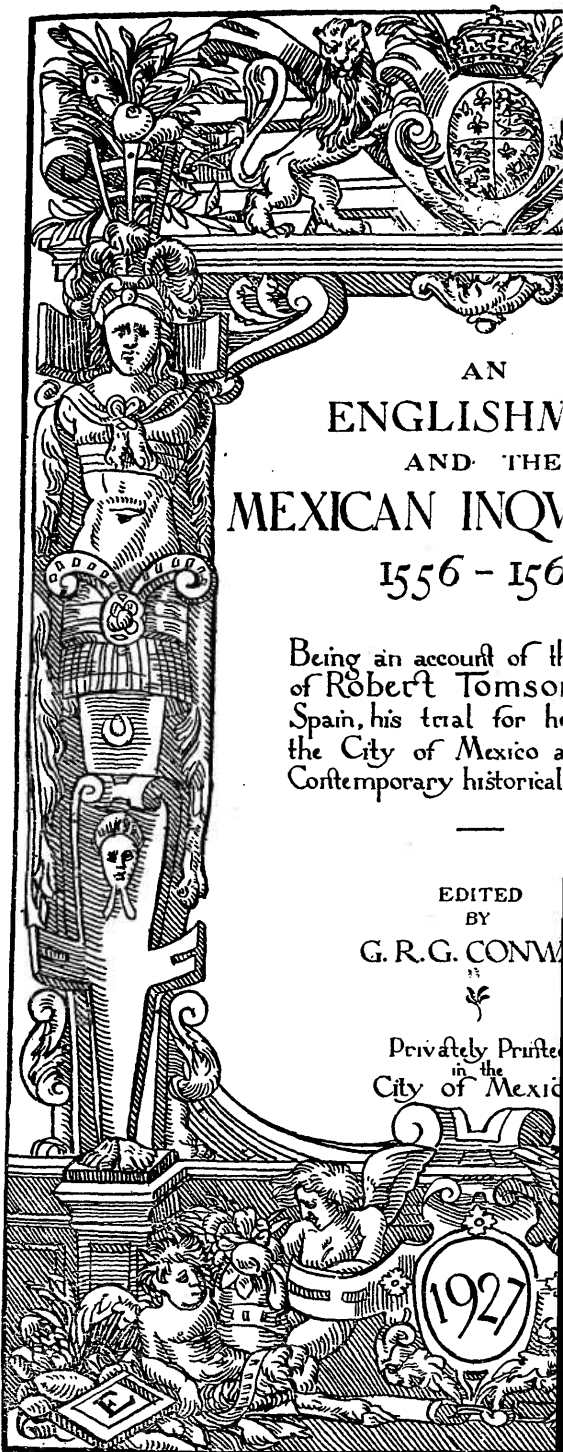
HOSPITAL DE JESUS
FOUNDED BY HERNANI

PLATE I



FRONTISPIECE

DE JESUS, MEXICO CITY
Y HERNANDO CORTES 1527.



AN
ENGLISHMAN
AND THE
MEXICAN INQUIRY
1556 - 1562

Being an account of the
of Robert Tomson
Spain, his trial for heresy
the City of Mexico and
Contemporary historical

EDITED
BY
G. R. G. CONWAY

Privately Printed
in the
City of Mexico

1927

BX 1740
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The border for the title page of this book was copied from that of the King Edward VI. Prayer Book, printed by Edward Whitchurch in 1549. The original woodcut was sent to Juan Pablos in Mexico sometime before 1554. With other titles within the border, it was used for books printed in Mexico in 1554, 1559, 1632, 1634 and 1638.

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*To NAN,
A few spadefuls from a little
Garden of Leisure in the City of Mexico.*



AN
ENGLISHMAN
AND THE
INQUISITION
1516-1560

Account of the Voyage
of Thomas Tomson to New
Spain for heresy in
Mexico and other
early historical documents

EDITED
BY
G. CONWAY

First Printed
in the
City of Mexico



PREFACE



THE National Archives of Mexico contain many original documents of great historical importance to students of the European colonization of North America. Among the manuscripts are a number which throw a flood of light upon the Narratives first printed by Richard Hakluyt in 1589, in his *Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*.

A study of these documents confirms the reliability of many of the accounts relating to Mexico during the sixteenth century. This is particularly true in the case of Robert Tomson, Henry Hawks, Miles Philips and Job Hortop, of whose narratives a distinguished historian, in a standard work of repute, has said: "One or two there were who, after years of captivity, told their wretched story at home. But it is so disfigured by every form of lie, that the most ingenious reconstructor of history fails to distil from it even a drop of truth."⁽¹⁾

Hakluyt, in his painstaking search after original reports, undoubtedly took infinite care to publish only those bearing the unmistakable stamp of truth and genuine experience. Contemporary documents preserved in the Mexican National Archives, as well as those which have been studied in the Archivo de Indias at Seville—

(1) Dr. E. E. Hale, in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*. Vol. III. p. 64.

that vast storehouse of inedited documents—prove that his editorial selection, so far as Mexico is concerned, was remarkably judicious. We can claim, then, for the “great prose epic” that it contains the most reliable accounts we have of the Tudor adventurers in the West Indies and New Spain.

The most important documents relating to early British Islanders in New Spain are to be found in the bound volumes of the Inquisition records. Among the earliest of these documents are the proceedings in the trial of Robert Tomson, a young south of England man, from the fair county of Hampshire. This trial took place before the episcopal Inquisitors towards the end of the year 1559 and in the early part of 1560. The *proceso*, which is a document of thirty-two folios, confirms in a remarkable degree the account given by Tomson to Hakluyt many years afterwards, and published by him in the first edition of his great work.

We find, also, the proceedings instituted by the ecclesiastical authorities in Mexico against the ill-fated but gallant Englishman, Robert Barret, “a man of graceful person,” the master of the “Jesus of Lubeck,”—Captain John Hawkins’s flagship—when he was betrayed by the Viceroy, Don Martin Enriquez Almanza, at San Juan de Ulua in September 1568. Barret, it is interesting to note, was a cousin of Francis Drake.⁽¹⁾

One of the ten hostages whom Hawkins in that affair exchanged with the Viceroy, was a youth who had been a page to Queen Elizabeth, called William de Orlando, who, on arrival in the City of Mexico, was confined in the Viceroy’s palace. Not very reticent, he told his companions in conversations in the vice-regal hall, that, although he was a good Catholic, Elizabeth was his queen and he would die for her. The ecclesiastical authorities would not punish him in Mexico, so the Viceroy sent him in 1569 to Seville, where he died in the dungeons a year later.

(1) *The Family and Heirs of Sir Francis Drake*, by Lady Elliott Drake. Vol. I. p. 83. London 1911.

Henry Hawks, a native of Tavistock, in Devonshire, who gave Hakluyt in 1572 one of the best accounts of Mexico, after having been tried for heresy and sentenced to be banished from New Spain, escaped from the Bishop's prison at Guadalajara in 1571. On his return home, perhaps because of his Spanish wife, he dared not record his Inquisition experiences as Tomson, many years afterwards, was free to do, but the story can be found in the Mexican archives.

Later, when the regular Inquisition, which was established in Mexico in the year 1571, was active, many of the luckless sailors of Hawkins's battered fleet, from Veracruz or Tampico, were placed under the ban of the Inquisition. A number of them, who had been more or less at large for three or four years, scattered from Zacatecas to Guatemala, were arrested and became the victims of the first auto de fe in Mexico, celebrated with great pomp and ceremony on the 28th February 1574. Thirtyone of these, seamen, soldiers and boys, were examined and condemned by the Inquisitors, and twenty-five of their trials are to be found in the National Archives.⁽¹⁾ Of these thirty-one, eighteen were condemned to the galleys of Spain, and ten were interned in monasteries to be instructed in the true Faith. George Riveley, a common sailor from the "Jesus of Lubeck," but who protested that he was the son of a Kentish gentleman, was one of the first two martyrs of the Protestant cause in America, his companion being Marin Cornu, a Frenchman, who had been arrested for heresy in Yucatan. These two were garrotted and their bodies burnt. In the following year, John Martin, a son of the sacristan of Cork Cathedral, called by Miles Philips "Cornelius the Irishman,"⁽²⁾ suffered a similar fate at the auto de fe of the 6th March 1575.

In all these trials we get interesting glimpses of the seamen's life in Elizabethan days. We find them staunch Englishmen, wondering why they should suffer because

(1) See Appendix No. III.

(2) See *Hakluyt*, 1589 ed. p. 574.

they were loyal to their sovereign, who had "commanded them to be Lutherans." In these musty, often illegible *procesos* we see what manner of man John Hawkins was and how he ordered the religious services to be observed in his fleet; how Drake, then laying the foundation of his illustrious career, taught one of the sailors the Pater-noster, and how the seamen gossiped of their queen and her supposed amours.

Among the seventeenth century records we find the voluminous *proceso* of William Lamport, an adventurous and scholarly Irishman, whose ambition was to free the natives and creoles from the yoke of Spain and make himself "King of the Mexicans and Emperor of America." He, poor visionary, fell into the clutches of the Inquisition, then the most venal organization in a corrupt period. After seventeen years' imprisonment he was condemned (in 1659) to be burnt alive, but saved himself from that fate by breaking his neck against the iron shackle that held him to the stake. To-day the statue of William Lamport, or Don Guillén de Lombardo as he called himself, stands in the base of the magnificent monument to Independence in the Capital, representing him as a martyr of Mexico's struggle for freedom from the yoke of Spain.

In the same century we find a Spaniard denounced because he talked too freely of the English "Adamites" and of Charles I., whom he saw beheaded. And so on. Three centuries of records await the student who has patience enough to extract some of the many historical facts from the thousands of discoloured pages of troublesome script.

These records of the trials of the Englishmen in the sixteenth century cover nearly four thousand closely written folios, and although some of them have been known to students of the Inquisition for many years, practically nothing has been published in English regarding them. A number of the *procesos* were formerly in the possession of General Riva Palacio, who, in *México a través de los siglos*,⁽¹⁾ printed some extracts relating

(1) Vol. II., pp. 506-508, Barcelona, 1880.

to the Englishmen from one of the trials now lost. About twenty years ago they were the subject of study by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, but, unfortunately, her researches have not been published. ⁽¹⁾ They have also been carefully studied and indexed by Señor Don Francisco Fernández del Castillo, who for many years was in charge of the Inquisition records in the Mexican National Archives. Apart from the careful researches of the principal authority on the Inquisition in America, Don José Toribio Medina, ⁽²⁾ and some chapters in a recent work by Father Mariano Cuevas, ⁽³⁾ nothing of importance has been published on the subject in any language.

In an endeavour to preserve the subject matter of these interesting records, a number of which are now going to pieces with age and the vicissitudes of troublous times, the writer has undertaken the spade work of having verbatim transcripts made of the whole of the trials relating to the English prisoners of the Inquisition in the sixteenth century. ⁽⁴⁾ The *raison d'être* of this small volume is to bring for the first time to the notice of English readers, and as an introduction to these voluminous documents, the trial of Robert Tomson, with some account of the Mexico of his day.

The writer wishes to express his thanks to Señor Don Rafael López, the *Director de los Archivos de la Nación*, for his kindness in granting every facility for making the transcripts. To Señor Don Francisco Fernández del Castillo he is also deeply indebted for generous and scholarly help and for making available the Indices which he had compiled.

Acknowledgment must also be made of the skilful palaeography of Miss A. M. Blake, who, for nearly

(1) *New Light on Drake*, pp. XIII-XV. Hakluyt Society, 1914.

(2) J. T. Medina: *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México*, Santiago 1905. *La Primitiva Inquisición Americana*. Santiago, 1914.

(3) *Historia de la Iglesia en México*. by Mariano Cuevas, México, 1921.

(4) For those up to 1575, see Appendix III.

five years, by her devoted work, has helped to make some of the writer's leisure hours enjoyable and interesting. He is also indebted to Mr. A. J. Baker, of Mexico City, for his excellent translations of more than a thousand pages of the transcripts.

In preparing the Tomson trial for publication, the writer has taken some liberties in arranging the text in divisions and paragraphs, and has revised the literal translation so as to make the verbose and, in some places, obscure original intelligible to English readers. To the student, who must of necessity prefer a transcript of the document in the original Spanish, an exact copy, carefully revised by Señor Don Francisco Fernández del Castillo, will be found in Appendix No. I.

G. R. G. C.

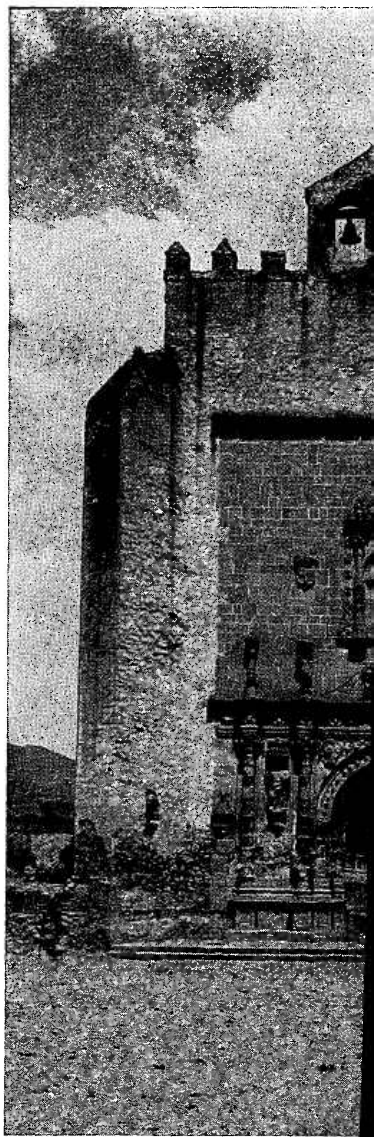
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Mexico, D. F.
June 1927.

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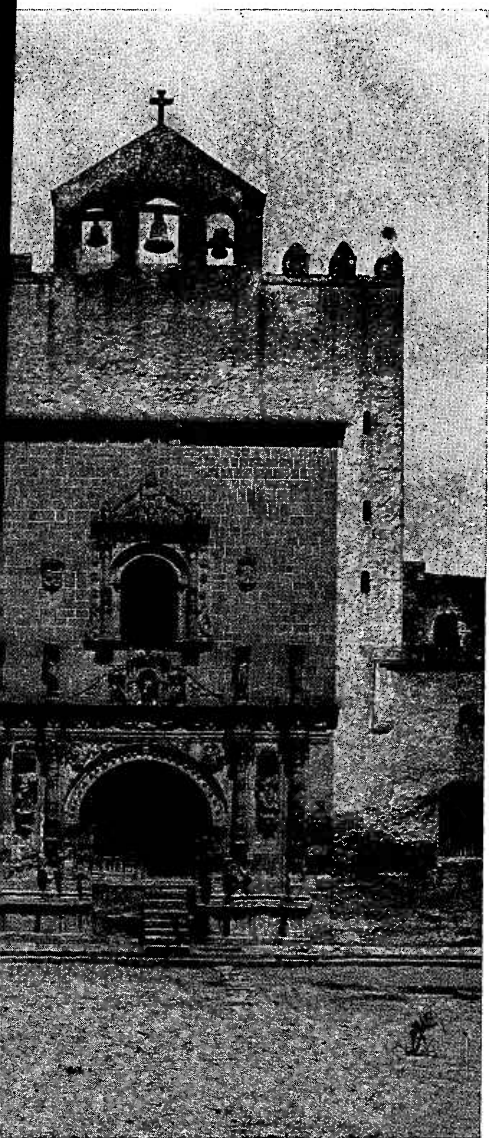
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CHURCH OF SAN A

1539



F SAN AGUSTIN ACOLMAN .
1539-1560

INTRODUCTION

I.



MEXICO, when Robert Tomson was there in the year 1556, was a small city. Thirty-five years had elapsed since its conquest by Cortés, and during the interval a city had grown up that was not inferior to the enterprising colonies. Architecturally it bore favour-
parison with some of the older cities in the world, while its natural setting in the Valley of Mexico gave it a beauty and charm unrivalled by any other in Spain. Robert Tomson's description of Mexico, found in his *Travels*, is the earliest we have by an Englishman, although not printed by Hakluyt until many years after Tomson had returned to Europe.

The Spanish population of the City of Mexico, Tomson tells us, did not number more than fifty thousand households.⁽¹⁾ Cervantes de Salazar, writing in 1592, said that the chapel of San José, adjoining that of San Francisco, was of a capacity to hold twelve thousand the Spanish inhabitants of the city on the Corpus Christi feast. "The citie," says Tomson, "goeth continually forwards in the building of Frieries and Nunneries, Chappels," and the contemporary map of Mexico,⁽³⁾ drawn by the great Seville cartographer,

(1) See p. 19.

(2) See p. 83.

(3) See Plate No. XI.

Alonso de Santa Cruz, shows that Tomson did not exaggerate the feverish progress of the new colonial city. Except for the remains of some temples, vestiges of which still remain as mute witnesses of an extinct Aztec Empire, the old city had been completely destroyed. The Aztec princes and nobles lived in substantial buildings, but the great mass of their native subjects inhabited reed huts and adobe buildings, which were easily demolished by the conquerors. New buildings of solid masonry were rapidly springing up within the limited area occupied by the Spaniards: mansion houses emulating the magnificence of their countrymen in the homeland were being built with forced Indian labour, and for the spiritual and physical needs of the people, monasteries, churches and hospitals sprang up with amazing rapidity. Of the sixteenth century buildings in the city, owing to the treacherous subsoil, very little now remains. The famous Hospital de Jesus, founded by Cortés in 1527, has a continuous record of charitable work until today, and much of the original structure still remains. A few old walls exist, here and there, of sixteenth century churches and monasteries, but these have been rebuilt from time to time in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Within a few leagues of the city there stands, as an evidence of the state of culture that had been reached in Mexico by the year 1560, the beautiful plateresque church and monastery of San Agustín Acolman. "Architecture," says Morgan, "is the printing press of all ages and gives a history of the state of society in which it was erected." In this church and monastery of Acolman, which was begun in 1539 and completed in 1560, we find the art of building true to the contemporary and earlier periods of Spanish architecture. We find also examples of sculpture and fresco painting freely imitating some of the finest works in Seville and Toledo, and the monastery is therefore a document in stone recording Spain's determination at that time to dominate the New World.

The contrast between the early settlement of New Spain and that of the English colonists in America a hun-

dred years later has often been pointed out, but fortunately for our Anglo-Saxon pride, the pilgrim settlements in New England did not lead to the enslavement and degradation of the native Indian. Beautiful as many of the early Spanish colonial churches must have been, the extravagance of the friars brought forth many protests from the more devoted and religious men of the monastic orders. The saintly Archbishop Montúfar, writing to the Council of the Indies in 1566, said that

“a remedy must be found against the great expenditures and waste and the extravagant structures which the monks erect in the towns of the Indians, all at the latter’s expense... They get the Indians to do the work, five or six thousand, without paying them any wages, nor giving them even a morsel of bread to eat, and by turns they are brought to the work from a distance of from six to twelve leagues. Some of those monasteries they build with lime, and they [the Indians] have to buy it as well as other building material. I have seen two buildings, one having cost more than eight or ten thousand ducats, and the other a little less, each of which has been started and finished within a year at the cost of money, sweat and personal work of the poor [Indians], and they even say that some of the Indians die while they are building such structures, for lack of food and for being far away from their families and homes.” And the good Archbishop goes on to lament this state of things near and in the Valley of Mexico, “all at the expense of the Indians, that it makes one suffer, and I and your Viceroy cannot remedy it.”¹

Dark though the record is of some of the conquistadores and friars in their treatment of the native Indian, the great Spanish adventure had its nobler aspects. The third quarter of the sixteenth century was a period of expansion and development. It was a period which continued the conquests of Cortés, Alvarado and Coronado, and one in which was extended the sway of Charles V,

(1) *La Población del Valle de Teotihuacán*, by Manuel Gamio, Mexico 1922. Vol. II, p. 601.

ION

Robert Tomson arrived near 1556, was no mean five years had passed quest by Hernando Cortes during the intervening years shown up that was a credit to the rising colonists. Archibore favourable conditions in the Motherland, Valley of Anahuac gave and by any city in old Spain of Mexico as he an English eye-witness, until many years after

the City of Mexico, Tomson was more than fifteen hundred years, writing in 1560, (2) adjoining the monastery of San Juan to hold the whole of the city on the occasion of a festival, "goeth wonderfully to see the Churches and Nunneries and the map of the Valley of Mexico drawn by the Seville cartographer,

nominally, if not effectively, from the Darien, on the south, to the plains, thousands of miles northwards, of what are now the thriving states of Oklahoma and Kansas. It was a period of hardy exploration and of mining activity. It was also a period of religious propaganda and education of the native races. By the devoted energies of the religious orders, a new faith, education and language were being imposed upon the Indians, and a new culture was rapidly changing a continent. A great colonial system was initiated, and the genius of Spain left its permanent mark, by the effect of innumerable decrees that controlled trade and mining activities, the laying out of towns and the governing of municipalities. During that time many learned Spaniards devoted their energies to historical research into the life, customs and languages of the races which the conquistadores were dominating. The researches of Bernardino de Sahagún, Mendieta, Motolinia, Maturino Gilberti and Alonso de Molina are to-day the ground-work of modern studies.

But above all it was a great proselytizing age. The new settlers had before them the example of the conquistadores who shared the glories and hardships of Cortés's expedition and who were deeply imbued with the religious beliefs of their native land. With Cortés and his companions there had arrived, or had followed them, in the early days of the Conquest, many devout priests and friars, such as Olmedo, Juan Díaz, Juan de Tecto, Juan de Ayora, Martin de Valencia, and the illustrious kinsman of Charles V, Pedro de Mora, better known as Pedro de Gante. These men and their successors sowed the seed of the Catholic religion that is today the professed faith of the millions of Latin America.

The period we are referring to saw great advances in colonial printing since its introduction in 1539, and among its greatest achievements was the foundation in 1553 of the first university on the mainland of North America. ⁽¹⁾ This new university could boast in its early

(1) See note, p. 108.

years of a professorial staff that was unexcelled at any later time, a staff that included the learned Alonso de Veracruz, Juan Negrete and the historian Cervantes de Salazar. At the same time, in the City of Mexico were established many of the earliest charitable organizations and hospitals for the benefit of the Spanish settlers, the mestizos and natives.

As the extension of the boundaries of New Spain proceeded, reports of its fabulous mineral wealth and of its climatic conditions resembling the old land, crossed the Atlantic, and these became powerful incentives in attracting with each fleet many adventurous spirits. Among the newcomers were men of all classes: soldiers of fortune, seekers after gold, idlers and workers, here and there a scholar, learned and devout men of the religious orders. These new settlers came chiefly from Spain; such diverse characters as Cervantes de Salazar from Toledo, and Bartolomé de Medina from Andalucía. One of these was to write a chronicle of New Spain, and the other to initiate, in 1555, a practical process of refining the precious metals, so that within a few years Spain's wealth was increased enormously. But other countries were worthily represented. Italy gave the New World Juan Pablos, its first printer, and France a scholar like Maturino Gilberti, while Germany sent many of its practical men to work in the rich Mexican mines.

Robert Tomson is the first Englishman who appears to have resided in Mexico at this early date, but even he was preceded many years earlier by a Scotsman named Thomas Blake, ⁽¹⁾ who had fought in the conquest of New Granada and later had accompanied Francisco Vazquez de Coronado on his famous expedition to the seven cities of Cibola. Thomas Blake married in 1544 the widow of Cristóbal de Canyego, a conquistador who, during Bishop Zumárraga's time, had been Nuncio and Fiscal of the Inquisition. ⁽²⁾

(1) See note, p. 93.

(2) Through the kindness of his friend, Señor Don Francisco Fernández del Castillo, the writer has been favoured with

Another of Tomson's contemporaries was an Irishman, a native of Galway, called by the Spaniards Rodrigo Ires, but whose father's name appears to have been Thomas Marchand. Rodrigo had fought for Charles V in the wars of Tunis (1535) under the banner of the Marquis de Mondejar, a brother of Don Antonio de Mendoza, the first Viceroy of New Spain. He came to Mexico about the year 1539, and married Doña Inés, a native princess of Tenayuca, a town a few leagues north of Mexico City. ⁽¹⁾

The only other settler of British origin Tomson appears to have known was Ralph Sarre, ⁽²⁾ a Devonshire man who had travelled with him from Spain, and Robert Sweeting. ⁽³⁾ Ralph Sarre occupied some position of trust in the household of Don García de Albornoz, a regi-

a transcript of the will of Thomas Blake, dated 6th. April 1557, and also that of his wife, Francisca de Ribera, a native of Seville and the widow of Cristóbal de Canyego. Blake gave instructions that he was to be buried in the "Iglesia Mayor de esta ciudad," and desired that the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral should attend his funeral. He did not remember if he owed any money, but if anyone swore before his executor that he did, he was to be paid an amount that should not exceed two pesos! He left a number of bequests to charitable institutions and gave orders that, at his death, two of his slaves were to receive their freedom. At the time of his marriage his possessions were the following: a black female slave and three male Indian slaves, a horse, money and house furniture, the whole of which might at that time be worth 2,000 pesos. He left 1,500 Castilian ducats to build a chapel in the church of San Juan de la Palma in Seville, in which masses were to be said for himself, his wife, their parents and grandparents. In this will he disinherited his step-daughter because she married against his wishes one of his servants; but his wife, who owned half of the estate, made a secret will in 1564, in which she stated that she had changed her mind and had forgiven her daughter, and hoped her husband would do likewise. She appointed him her executor, and the residue of her estate, after various legacies were paid, was to go to her daughter and son-in-law, then resident in the mines of Zacatecas. Thomas Blake apparently had no other heirs.

(1) See *Diccionario de Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España* by Francisco A. de Icaza, Madrid, 1923. Vol. II, No. 758.

(2) A copy of a part of Ralph Sarre's will was found among the papers of Henry Hawks when he was arrested. See Vol 4, *Inquisition Records* A. G. N.

(3) See note, p. 90.

dor of the city, who, in 1566, was implicated in the famous Martín Cortés conspiracy.

Robert Tomson's narrative is a faithful account of the Mexico of his time, and, with the descriptions of the country as observed a few years later by Henry Hawks, John Chilton and Miles Philips, ⁽¹⁾ we have a worthily written picture of the early colonial life of New Spain handed down to us by Tudor Englishmen.

(1) For these narratives see *Hakluyt. Principall Navigations*, Glasgow, ed. 1904, Vol. IX.



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duction into Spain can be traced to the enormous influence of the New Christians. Reluctance to appear to have been in their fears were overcome by the eloquence of the Dominicans. With the royal eager inquisitors, by and by ushered in the Inquisition power which played so large a part in Spain and her colonial territories.

The first auto de fe was held in Seville on the 6th. of March 1498, when two women, reputed Jewish converts, were burned at the end of that year it was estimated that ninety-eight heretics had been burned. At the time the conquest of Spain by the Inquisition in Spain—formed a large part to its credit over ninety

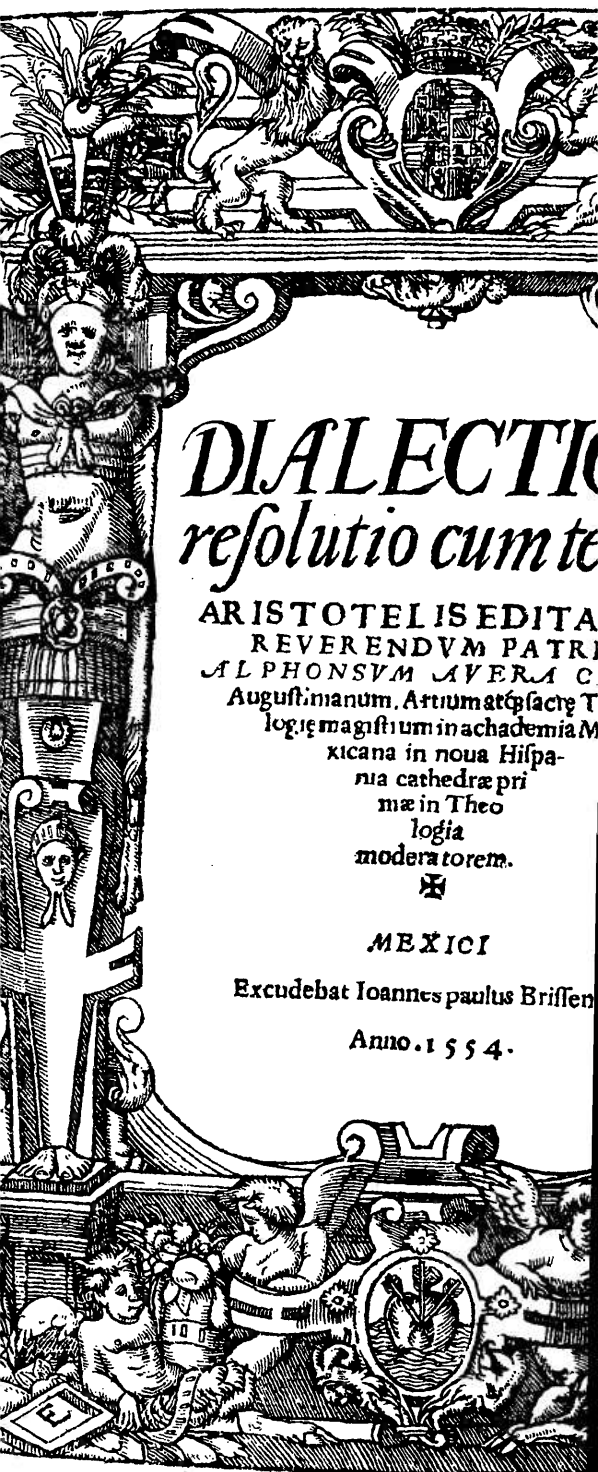
(1) *A History of the Inquisition in Spain*, New York, 1922, Vol. I, p. 165.

II.

UNDER the Catholic Sovereigns of Spain, Isabella and Ferdinand, the tribunal of the Inquisition was established by authority of a Papal Bull dated 7th. November 1478, granted by Pope Sixtus IV. For three centuries it had existed in varying form in Italy and France, and its introduction into Spain came as a political necessity in view of the enormous influence exercised by the Jews and Muslims. Reluctant as the Catholic Sovereigns have been in consenting to its establishment, they were overcome by the intense and persuasive arguments of the Dominican friar, Tomás de Torquemada. With the royal sanction, the newly appointed and authorized inquisitors, by an edict published in January 1481, began the Inquisition's era of religious and political persecution, which played so important a part in the life of the Spanish colonial empire for more than three cen-

turies. The first auto de fe under the new tribunal was held on the 6th. February 1481, when six men and women, Jewish heretics, were burnt, and before the end of that year it is reported that two hundred and thirty heretics had suffered at the stake. ⁽¹⁾ By the conquest of Mexico was accomplished, the Inquisition in Spain—for the protection of the Faith—had never ninety autos de fe and several thousand

History of the Spanish Inquisition, by H. C. Lea, New York, I, p. 165.



DIALECTIC resolutio cum te

ARISTOTELIS EDITA
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MEXICI

Excudebat Ioannes paulus Brissen

Anno. 1554.

TITLE PAGE OF A BOOK PRINTED IN
BY JUAN PABLOS IN 1554.

victims. In the Indies there was no attempt to establish the formal Inquisition until many years after the colonization of the new territories had begun. True it is that the ostensible object of the Spanish kings and of the early explorers and conquistadores was the propagation of their own Faith, and no Catholic monarch could tolerate the thought of ruling over heretics, yet the powers granted to the early missionaries and friars were of a very shadowy character. According to Bartolomé de las Casas,⁽¹⁾ Friar Pedro de Córdoba was the founder of the Dominican order in the New World, "a man endowed with much prudence and an exceptional gift of teaching, he being the first to establish the Order of St. Dominic in these Indies, where, with his religious fervour, he turned the natives from their primitive beliefs."

Friar Pedro arrived in Hispaniola in September 1510, when his fervent preaching on behalf of the Indians led to trouble in the Colony, and he returned to Spain to lay the matter before his Provincial. Exactly when Pedro de Córdoba returned to Hispaniola is uncertain. We know that Cardinal Tortosa, the Inquisitor General, on the 7th. January 1519, appointed Alonso Manso, Bishop of the Island of San Juan, and Friar Pedro de Córdoba, vice-provincial of the Order of St. Dominic, Apostolic Inquisitors in the Indies.⁽²⁾ The good friar died at Santo Domingo on the 30th. June 1525, and his only official act as Inquisitor was to grant a commission to Friar Martín de Valencia, who, with a group of devoted Franciscan friars, passed through Hispaniola in 1524 on their way to Mexico. This commission appointed Friar Martín commissary for the whole of New Spain, with authority to punish delinquents in certain cases, Friar Pedro de Córdoba reserving to himself the decision in more serious offences.

By virtue of two Papal Bulls, the first granted by

(1) *Historia de las Indias*, Madrid 1875, Vol. III, pp. 273-274.

(2) *La Primitiva Inquisición Americana*, by J. T. Medina, Santiago de Chile, 1914, Vol. II. p. 5.



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Leo X., dated the 25th. April 1521, and the other by Adrian VI., dated 9th. May 1522, to two Franciscan friars, Friar Juan Clapton and Friar Francisco de los Angeles, prelates and priors of the mendicant orders, ⁽¹⁾ the friars were given far-reaching authority in religious matters, although nothing is said regarding inquisitorial powers. With the authority of the Papal Bulls and appointment as Commissary, Friar Martín de Valencia, on his arrival in Mexico, was sufficiently authorized to act as Inquisitor. This authority he appears to have limited to cases of blasphemy, a sin common enough in the rough and hardy conquistadores. Icazbalceta tells us that in a manuscript of Tlaxcala, ⁽²⁾ he found a reference to the fact that during Friar Martin's term of office one heretic, at least, received capital punishment, but this fact cannot be verified from any other contemporary documents.

The Padre Mendieta, ⁽³⁾ writing of the irreverence prevailing among the colonists, which he thought should have been the subject of discipline on the part of Friar Martin, said, when alluding to the bad habits the Indians had learned from the Spaniards, that,

“Although the harm done is of much extent, I will conclude with one to which little attention has been paid, but which, in my poor opinion, should have been taken care of and remedied by the Inquisition as it concerns the honour, zeal and reverence due to Our Lord God, being the irreverent way in which many Spanish men and women in Indian villages attend divine worship, coming in late and reluctantly, the men talking of and discussing their business and contracts, and the women gossiping and jesting, and this is very common and deliberately done, those who arrive first seating themselves against the walls and turning to observe those who come in later, and instead of paying attention

(1) Medina: op. cit., p. 99.

(2) Icazbalceta—*Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI.*—p. 376.

(3) Medina: op. cit. pp. 110-111.

to the sermon, the women study and discuss the head-dresses, arrangement of the hair and attire of the others, and the men lounge and gossip, some of them standing in the aisles and others seating themselves with their backs to the altar, only turning their faces at the elevation of the Host, and not always then; and as I have watched all this with my own eyes, as I stood hearing High Mass from the choir, pangs of anguish have assailed my heart in observing the irreverence and shamelessness displayed by those who so unworthily usurp the name of Christians, and the bad example they set to the newly-converted natives, who had displayed such devotion and zeal when they were infidels in the temples of their demons, and the sight of all this irreverence openly shown and done with impunity is of itself sufficient to undermine their faith in Christianity and to lead them into heresies and contempt for God.

“Another abuse is the extravagant head-dresses of the women, which look more like the diadems of saints, and there is not even a strumpet, however low she may be, that does not endeavour to copy the fashion. And when this is observed by the Indians, what must they think but that the female saints of whom we preach to them were the same as the women they see to-day, with their evil customs in acts and words, and who appear to be mad folks rather than decent Christians. After leaving church they even go about undressed among the Indians, worse than the worst of the market women. I pray to God that some Inquisitor may take up this matter, for the honour and reverence of the female saints.” (1)

When the Dominicans passed to New Spain, in 1526, the Judges of the Audiencia of Hispaniola decided that Friar Martín de Valencia's commission should hold good only until their arrival in Mexico. To their Prior, Friar Tomás Ortiz, was assigned the office of Commisary of the Inquisition. Friar Ortiz having to go back to Spain, to recruit for his Order new friars, he left in his place

(1) *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, pp. 504-505.

Friar Domingo de Betanzos. For about two years, or until July 1528, the good Friar Betanzos exercised the office of Commissary of the Inquisition, and the cases coming before him were chiefly for the crime of blasphemy. ⁽¹⁾

Among the interesting *procesos* of Friar Betanzos' period is that of Rodrigo Rangel, an aged conquistador who had held the offices of *alcalde* and *regidor* in the young city council of Mexico since its foundation. The sentence "por horroroso blasfemo," which was signed by Friar Toribio Motolinía, apparently during the temporary absence of Friar Betanzos, reads as follows:

"In the law-suit between Sebastián de Arriaga, Fiscal Attorney of the ecclesiastical Audiencia, plaintiff, and Rodrigo Rangel, a resident of this City of Temistitlán, defendant, accused on information of the sin of blasphemy; I, Juan Toribio, Superior of the convent of San Antonio, of the City of Texcoco, Deputy Judge (*Juez Comisario*) in the said suit, the merits of the prisoner and of the allegations of each of the different parties having been heard, they were cited to hear the sentence. Considering on the one hand the offence of blasphemy, so far as it does harm to our Lord, and on the other hand the rank of the prisoner and his spontaneous confessions and appreciation of his sins, and his long sobriety of behaviour and his illness; having God before our eyes, whose only desire is that the sinner shall be converted and live with greater care in the holy doctrine, this is my definite judgment: I pass sentence condemning the said Rodrigo Rangel to hear publicly for one day a Mass, attired without cloak or wrap, with his head bare and with a candle in his hand, and that he shall remain for nine months in a monastery, doing penance, giving food to five poor people every Friday of the nine months, and that he shall give to other charities five hundred gold pesos or their rightful equivalent, which shall be apportioned in the following manner: to the house of

(1) There are about twenty *procesos* for blasphemy during this period, A. G. N. Mexico.

Santo Domingo a gold mark for the charities of the said monastery, and also a silver chalice; to the church of La Villa Rica (Vera Cruz) shall be given ten silver marks for a cross, and another silver chalice. The remainder shall be given to poor people or orphans, as may be deemed best by Santa Clara and Pedro Santiago, residents of this city; and also out of the said five hundred pesos shall be given ten pesos to each of the Brotherhoods of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles and of La Cruz. The costs of the present suit shall be deducted from the said amount of money, and in addition I order that with his Indians he shall finish the hermitage of the XI thousand martyrs which has been begun on the causeway coming from Tlaxcala, and shall also give to the house of San Francisco three dozen slabs for the building. This I deliver as my final sentence.

Fr. Toribio, *Commissary*."

This sentence was delivered by the M. R. P. Friar Toribio of the Order of San Francisco, Judge Commissary in the Monastery of San Francisco, on the third day of the month of September, fifteen hundred and twenty seven.⁽¹⁾

In the year 1528 there arrived in Mexico Friar Vicente de Santa María, the founder of the Dominican monastery, and Friar Betanzos was relieved of his office. Friar Santa María had first come to Mexico in 1526, but left for Spain soon afterwards, returning two years later with the title of Vicar General. In the first chapter of his Order celebrated in New Spain, he was elected Superior of the monastery, and accordingly became, by virtue of that position, commissary of the Holy Office in New Spain. Much light is thrown upon his conduct and his use of inquisitorial powers in some documents that are preserved in the Mexican National Archives. These documents⁽²⁾ show unmistakably that Friar Santa Ma-

(1) *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, by P. Mariano Cuevas, Mexico, 1921, Vol. I, p. 224.

(2) *Autos y diligencias hechas* (torn) *Sambenitòs Antiguos y Re* (torn) *y postura de los que sean Relaxado por este Santo Oficio*

ría was the first persecutor of the Jews in America, and that he was the first to condemn to the stake two reputable citizens of the new city, unjustly, as his contemporaries thought.

When the regular Inquisition was established in Mexico, in 1571, with Pedro Moya de Contreras as Chief Inquisitor, and Alonso Fernández de Bonilla as Fiscal, all pending cases and previous trials and judgments were reviewed. Later, when Moya de Contreras became Archbishop, Bonilla succeeded him as Chief Inquisitor; with the thoroughness which characterized him throughout his long term of office, he noticed the absence of many records, and that the sambenitos ⁽¹⁾ of the earlier heretics were missing from the cathedral church. He accordingly held an enquiry into the matter in June 1574.

At the enquiry which the inflexible inquisitor held, he summoned to his presence many old residents, some of whom were among the early conquerors. From the evidence taken, we find that in the year 1528, during Vicente de Santa María's term of office, Hernando Alonso and Gonzalo de Morales, two supposed Jews, were sentenced to death and handed over to the secular arm for punishment; and another Jew, Diego de Ocaña, was condemned to wear the sambenito for six months. Hernando Alonso, who was a blacksmith, came to New Spain with Cortés, and helped to hammer many nails into the launches which Martín López made for the capture of the city in 1521. ⁽²⁾ For his services he was granted an *encomienda* at Actopan. Why he was condemned to the stake by Friar Santa María is not clear, although he was charged with being a Jew and with celebrating a mock form of the ceremony of baptism. Bonilla, after hearing the evidence of many old residents, wrote the Chief Inquisitors in Spain, saying that there was no clear eviden-

hasta el año de 1632 que se renovaron y pusieron de nuevo.—Inquisición Correspondencia Siglo XVI. Tomo 77. Archivo General. These documents are of various dates from 1574 to 1632.

(1) See p. 96.

(2) See p. 113.

ce that he was a Jew.⁽¹⁾ The other victim of Friar Santa María's fanaticism, Gonzalo de Morales, was a small trader, and a Jew at least on his father's side. This fact, and a trumped-up charge regarding the practice of Jewish rites before he came to Mexico, were sufficient to condemn him. The third victim, Diego de Ocaña, was a native of Seville. This man arrived in Mexico about June 1525, and was authorized by the City Council to exercise his profession of notary on the 20th. of the same month, and on the 1st. September he was entered as a resident of the new city.⁽²⁾ Ocaña was the author of several violent letters, written in 1526, against Cortés, addressed to the *Casa de Contractación* in Seville, letters which are examples of the virulent tone of the partisanship of those times.⁽³⁾ He was involved in the intrigues of Gonzalo de Salazar during the absence of Cortés in Honduras, and perhaps political motives may have inspired his trial. According to the witnesses that were examined by Bonilla, "he was accused of killing a hen by breaking its backbone, a ceremony of the Mosaic law, and of having eaten flesh on Friday and the flesh of sharks on other days." He was sentenced to wear the sambenito for six months, and was absolved by Friar Santa María.⁽⁴⁾

One of the witnesses called by the Inquisitor Bonilla was Pedro Vásquez de Vergara, a man over seventy years of age. He remembered that when the Archbishop of Santo Domingo, Don Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, came to México, the Archbishop had remarked that the

(1) Letter of Bonilla 20th. October 1574. See Medina op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 106-109.

(2) *Actas de Cabildo*.

(3) *Documentos Inéditos de Archivo de Indias*, Madrid 1870, Vol. 13, pp. 348-356; 393-406.

(4) In his will, made in 1533, Ocaña said to his heirs: "...Further, I declare before God, who knows all things, and from Whom nothing can be hidden, that although I am a miserable sinner, I have lived as a good Catholic from the time I attained years of discretion until the present hour, believing, as a faithful Christian should, all that is held, preached, taught and accepted by the Holy Mother Church, in which faith I will live and die; and I denounce the friar Vicente, Vicar of the Domini-

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Pedro Vásquez also said
Pedro de Contreras, he
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in the matter as a man pos
and unjust judge that he is
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and hand down to my heirs
and noisome that I might
lost, body and soul, reputati
hand, had not helped me; a
to the worshipful Inquisito
be decided in my lifetime:
heirs to use every effort to
applied to the said friar, fo
meted out." See *Publicación*
México, 1923, Vol. VII, *La*

(1) He was called Jo
to have been Andrés Mora
II, pp. 106-109.

the trials of Hernando Alonso and Gonzalo de Salazar had been improper, and they had been denied the mercy they had implored. He also said that when he asked the friar, Fray Juan de Ocaña, he who had preached the sermon at the trial, how Gonzalo de Salazar had behaved, the friar had replied "leave him alone; he only confessed out of dread of the torture, Hernando Alonso." A Franciscan friar, Fray Juan de Ocaña, said of Ocaña that he suspected that his trial was set up in the cathedral because Ocaña was a favourite of Gonzalo de Salazar and popular in the City. The same witness remembered that Ocaña, the City, was considered a Jew and to the family of Xuarez de Benedeva, Jews

Lutheran condemned to wear the sambenito. He may have been Andrés Moral,⁽¹⁾ a native of Avila. This man was a lapidary, and had been a strict Lutheran," so Bonilla informed the witnesses in Spain, "and one of the early ones, was recognized by Friar Juan de Zumárraga, Bishop of this city and Apostolic Inquisitor about

most unjustly thrown me into prison, thereby causing me untold anguish, the which was the opinion of his lawyer and of the Padre Doctor who could and did speak in my favour, and in combination with the notary who recorded the trial, acting about my being sentenced to death, acting as a man possessed by devils and like the corrupt that he is; rejecting my defence and allegations, of which I have nevertheless been able to obtain for my heirs; and immuring me in a cell so dark I might have been driven to despair and been ruined, reputation and estate, if God, with his pitiful help, had not helped me; and whereas I have appealed my case to the Inquisitor-General, and such appeal may not be granted in my lifetime: now, therefore, I beg and charge my effort to obtain justice and that this shall be done by the said friar, for my only wish is that justice shall be done.

Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación
Vol. VII, *La Vida Colonial*, p. 5.

called Joan Aleman, but his real name appears to be Andrés Moral or Morel. See Medina, *op. cit.* Vol.

the year 1536." He was sentenced by the Bishop to perpetual banishment from the whole of New Spain. Later he appeared before the Inquisitors "in the city of Toledo in the month of October 1538, and by way of commutation for the wearing of the said garment (sambenito), other spiritual penances were imposed upon him, and he was given permission to walk in those places frequented by the Emperor's suite".⁽¹⁾ Notwithstanding the commutation of the sentence, Inquisitor Bonilla decided to replace the sambenito of Andrés Moral with the others in the cathedral church in 1574.

With the appointment, in 1535, of Friar Juan de Zumárraga as the first Bishop of Mexico, the episcopal Inquisition took on a more formal character. This appointment gave him the title of Apostolic Inquisitor, and in 1536 he proceeded to establish a formal tribunal, nominating Miguel López de Legaspi (afterwards the conqueror of the Philippines) as secretary, and a fiscal, treasurer, interpreters and other officers, with the necessary prison for heretics. Bishop Zumárraga is chiefly noted for his trial of Don Carlos,⁽²⁾ the cacique of Texcoco, whom he condemned to the stake for idolatry in 1539; and for his fanatical attempt to stamp out the Indian tribal religions—an attempt which three centuries of proselytizing has not yet entirely accomplished. In the trial of Don Carlos, Zumárraga had ignored an edict issued by Charles V, dated the 15th. October 1538, ordering that the native Indians should not be subject to inquisitorial proceedings, but that in all matters of the Faith they should be relegated to the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishops⁽³⁾

In the year 1543 Zumárraga was superseded as inquisitor by the appointment of the Visitador Francisco Tello de Sandoval, who, under a commission from Juan

(1) Medina *op. cit.* Vol. II, Letter of Bonilla, p. 106.

(2) *Publicaciones del A. G. N. México.* 1910. Vol. 1, *Proceso Inquisitorial del Cacique de Tetzoco*

(3) See *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies.* by H. C. Lea, New York, 1922, p. 210. Dr. Lea, though, gives a wrong date (1536) for the trial of the cacique.

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 ginas vras dello lo a sommar
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 la e con el genc parente ginas
 lo aplatado / fero e no
 comda y monefando con gna
 o d'el genc e no comandado
 e y d'el genc y a gona
 in bley de genc ante a gna
 d'el genc in el genc fero e no
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Fr. Nazario
de Sahagún
Fray Juan de la Cruz

THE PROCESS OF DON CARLOS,
TExCOCO, 1539.

UMÁRRAGA, BERNARDINO DE SAHAGUN
N CARLOS

de Tavera, the Inquisitor General, dated the 18th. July, was empowered to exercise the functions of inquisitor during his mission to Mexico.⁽¹⁾ Sandoval, who had been an inquisitor at Toledo, was sent to Mexico by Charles V to assist the Viceroy Mendoza in an attempt to enforce the New Laws of the Indies. These new laws were a series of ordinances which were passed for the protection of the Indians, under the influence of Bartolomé de las Casas, in 1542 and 1543. Sandoval, whose visit to Mexico was a beneficial one, does not, however, appear to have been very active as Inquisitor. He returned to Spain in 1546. After Bishop Zumárraga's death in 1548, and until the arrival of Pedro Moya de Contreras in 1571, the jurisdiction over cases of heresy was in the hands of the episcopal authorities.

From this time onwards there were many trials of a minor character, some for blasphemy and bigamy, but none of importance until those of Robert Tomson and Agustín Boacio, who were sentenced together in March 1560. From the year 1527 to the date of Tomson's trial there are records⁽²⁾ preserved of 340 trials that had come before the episcopal inquisitors, exclusive of cases that were sometimes tried in other bishoprics in New Spain. From 1560, until the establishment of the formal tribunal of the Holy Office, there are 255 additional *procesos*, making a total of 595 between the years 1527 and 1571. Of this number four victims were condemned to the stake.

The *sambenito* of Robert Tomson, which was hung in the old cathedral in 1560, was repaired in August 1574. In the year 1584, when the partial demolition of the old cathedral was begun, it was taken down, together with thirty-five others. The *sambenitos* were then placed in the Inquisition buildings, after being straightened out, cleaned and repaired.⁽³⁾ From time to time, depending on the condition of the old cathedral, they were replaced

(1) *Cedulario de Puga*, Mexico 1563, folio 97.

(2) In the *Archivo General de la Nación*. Mexico Inquisition Records.

(3) See Vol. 77. Inquisition Records A. G. N. Mexico.

in their old positions until the new cathedral was ready to receive them. On the 26th. June 1632, with some ceremony, they were transferred to the modern cathedral, including Tomson's, "when they were set up and nailed on their wooden frames in the Holy Church, upon the walls facing the door which opens on the Plaza and the houses of the Marquis del Valle." Tomson's *sambenito* is recorded as being in the same place in 1667,⁽¹⁾ but was apparently missing when they were taken down when the Inquisition was abolished in 1813.⁽²⁾

There are to-day very few apologists who defend the Inquisition in the sixteenth century in Mexico, but even the impartial reader of contemporary documents arrives at the conclusion that, except for the important *autos de fe* of 1574 and 1596, the Inquisitors, zealous as they were to maintain the great colony of New Spain free from the taint of heresy, exercised their tremendous powers mildly. Religious persecution in that century was not confined to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, nor even yet can it be said that religious tolerance exists among the liberty loving peoples of our day. In the sixteenth century, in Mexico, the Inquisition condemned seventeen heretics to the stake,⁽³⁾ and with one exception, which is doubtful, all of these were mercifully garrotted before the flames reached their bodies.⁽⁴⁾ This record bears

(1) See Medina *op cit* Vol. II. p. 98.

(2) It does not appear in the list made a little before that time by the Padre José Pichardo. Original MS in the possession of the writer. See *México Viejo*, by Luis González Obregón, México 1895, pp. 331-395.

(3) The total number of heretics *relajados en persona* by the Inquisition in Mexico from 1525 to 1820 was 40, the *auto de fe* of 1596 being responsible for nine, and the great *auto de fe* of 1649 for ten. See *Historia de la Iglesia en México* by P. Mariano Cuevas, Vol. II, p. 273.

(4) The official certificate of the execution of George Riveley, the Englishman who was condemned in the *auto de fe* of the 28th. February 1574, concludes as follows:

"And then instantly on the day, month and year, the twenty eighth day of February, one thousand five hundred and seventy four, the said Jorge Ribli, Englishman, was taken from the said platform and put upon a saddled beast, and his crime was announced by the voice of Francisco Galvez, public crier of this

more than favourable comparison with that of Spain in the same period; with the treatment of heretics in Mary Tudor's reign, or with the savage anti-Catholic legislation of Protestant Elizabeth.

city, who proclaimed it loudly at intervals. Thus he was taken by Antonio Delgadillo, chief constable of his city, through the street of San Francisco to the market place of San Hipólito, and there made to dismount from the said beast, and was then tied by his hands and feet to a pole and garroted by the neck until he died naturally. And when he was dead they set a great quantity of wood afire, and in the midst of it was burned the body of the said Jorge Ribli, Englishman, in such a way that it was converted to dust and ashes." *Inquisition Records Vol 54 Proceso contra Jorge Ribli, inglés, de los que vinieron en la armada de Joun Aquines.*

III.



HE student of Tudor England will readily understand the formative influences that led the young Hampshire man to express himself so freely on religious matters in the household of Gonzalo Cerezo. Robert Tomson's youth was spent in England during the religious and political upheaval caused by the iconoclasm of Henry VIII. He left his own country and passed over to Spain when the Pope's ascendancy in spiritual matters was challenged, and England was gradually being permeated with German theology. In his talks with the servants of Cerezo we see how the reformation principles were shaping his beliefs, in spite of his residence in Catholic Spain.

A little before Tomson arrived in Mexico, the news had reached New Spain of Mary Tudor's marriage with Prince Philip. The City Council, loyal to the Crown and to their ancient religion, were much concerned about the Lutherans in the land of Philip's bride, and they accordingly deliberated among themselves how they could help the Faith. They decided to organize a solemn procession, headed by the royal standard, to parade the city streets. This procession took place on Sunday the 21st. July 1555, and prayers were offered up for the conversion of the English Lutherans. When Tomson was arrested in September 1559 a new era had begun in England, and the Protestant Elizabeth was reigning in Mary's stead. News at that time reached Mexico City very slowly, but the episcopal Inquisitors knew that a reaction had begun, so

Tomson paid the penalty of his indiscretion in speech. He was the first Englishman to suffer at the hands of the Inquisition in America.

We know very little of Robert Tomson after he had fulfilled his sentence in Seville, except what he tells us in his own story. Hugh Typton,⁽¹⁾ his master, was an English merchant of some consequence and a worthy successor of Robert Thorne, the Bristol man who encouraged trading with the Indies as early as the year 1527. In June 1567, when Henry Hawks applied for license to go to the Indies and sell wine, he cited Robert Tomson to testify before a Judge of the *Casa de Contractacion* as to his character and orthodoxy.⁽²⁾ He then described himself as a merchant, thirty-four years of age, and a resident of Malaga. Apparently the fact that he had ceased to wear the sambenito only four years previously proves that he was accepted as one who was reconciled to the Faith and was not subject to any disability. When he wrote the narrative which Richard Hakluyt published in 1589, he must already have returned to his native land, otherwise he could not have written "by this men may see how the Papists are given to beleeeve and worship such vaine things and toys,"⁽³⁾ or the account of the Inquisitorial proceedings in Mexico.

The money his marriage brought to him was compensation for all his trouble in New Spain, "this I thought good to speake of, to show the goodness of God to all them that put their trust in him, that I being brought out of the Indies, in such great misery and infamy to the world, should be provided at God's hand in one moment of more then in all my life before I could attaine unto by my owne labour."⁽⁴⁾

(1) See p. 95.

(2) *Inquisition. Records, A. G. N., Mexico, Vol. 49. Proceso of Henry Hawks (Pedro Sánchez).*

(3) See p. 9.

(4) See p. 14.

I

THE VOYAGE OF ROBERT TOMSON MARCHANT, INTO
NOVA HISPANIA IN THE YEERE 1555.

The voyage of Robert Tomson Marchant, into Nova Hispania in the yeere 1555. with divers observations concerning the state of the Countrey: And certaine accidents touching himselfe.



ROBERT TOMSON borne in the towne of Andover in Hampshire began his travaile out of England in An. 1553. in the moneth of March: who departing out of the citie of Bristoll in a good ship called The barke yong, ¹ in companie of other Marchants of the sayde citie, within 8. dayes after arrived at Lisbone in Portugall, where the sayd Robert Tomson remained 15. dayes, at the end of which he shipped himselfe for Spaine in the sayd shippe, and within 4. dayes arrived in the bay of Cadiz in Andalusia, which is under the kingdom of Spaine, & from thence went up to the citie of Sivil by land, which is 20. leagues, and there hee repaired to one John Fields house an English Marchant, who had dwelt in the said city of Sivil 18. or 20. yeres married with wife and children: In whose house the said Tomson remained by the space of one whole yeere or thereabout, for two causes: The one to learne the Castillian tongue, the other to see the orders of the countrey, and the customes of the people. At the end of which time having seene the fleetes of shippes come out of the Indies to that citie, with

such great quantitie of gold & silver, pearles, precious stones, suger, hides, ginger, and divers other rich commodities, he did determine with himselfe to seeke meanes and opportunitie to passe over to see that rich countrey from whence such great quantitie of rich commodities came. And it fell out that within short time after, the sayd John Field (where the sayd Tomson was lodged) did determine to passe over into the West Indies, himselfe, with his wife, children, and familie, and at the request of the sayde Tomson, he purchased a licence of the King to passe into the Indies, for himselfe, his wife and children, and among them also for the sayde Tomson to passe with them: so that presently they made preparation of victuall and other necessarie provision for the voyage. But the shippes which were prepared to perfourme the voyage being all ready to depart, upon certaine considerations by the kings commandement were stayed and arrested till further should bee knowen of the Kings pleasure. Whereupon the said John Field, with Robert Tomson departed out of Sivil and came down to S. Lucar 15. leagues off, and seeing the stay made upon the ships of the said fleet, & being not assured when they would depart, determined to ship themselves for the Iles of the Canaries, which are 250. leagues from S. Lucar, and there to stay till the said fleet should come thither: for that is continually their port to make stay at 6. or 8. daies, to take in fresh water, bread, flesh, & other necessities.

So that in the moneth of February in An. 1555. the sayde Robert Tomson with the said John Field and his companie, shipped themselves out of the towne of S. Lucar in a carvel of the citie of Cadiz, and within 6. dayes they arrived at the port of the Grand Canaria, where at our comming the ships that rode in the said port began to cry out of all measure with loud voyces, in so much that the castle which stood fast by began to shoot at us, and shot 6. or 7. shot at us, and strooke downe our maine maste, before we could hoise out our boat to goe on land,

to know what the cause of the shooting was, seeing that we were Spanish ships, and were comming into his countrey. So that being on lande, and complaining of the wrong and damage done unto us; they answered, that they had thought we had bene French rovers, that had come into the said port to do some harme to the ships that were there. For that 8. dayes past there went out of the said port a carvell much like unto ours, laden with sugers and other marchandise for Spaine and on the other side of the point of the sayd Iland, met with a Frenchman of warre, who tooke the said carvell, & unladed out of her into the said French ship both men & goods. And being demanded of the said Spaniards what other ships remained in the port whence they came, they answered that there remained divers other ships, & one laden with sugers (as they were) & ready to depart for Spaine: upon the which newes the Frenchmen put 30. tall men of their ship well appointed into the said carvel which they had taken, and sent her backe againe to the said port from whence she had departed the day before. And somewhat late towards the evening came into the port, not shewing past 3. or 4. men and so came to an anker hard by the other ships that were in the said port, and being seene by the castle and by the said ships, they made no reconing of her, because they knew her, & thinking that she had found contrary windes at the sea, or had forgot something behinde them, they had returned backe againe for the same, and so made no accompt of her, but let her alone riding quietly among the other ships in the said port: So that about midnight the said carvel with the Frenchmen in her went aboard the other ship that lay hard by laden with sugers, and drove the Spaniards that were in her under hatches, & presently let slip her cables and ankers, and set saile & carried her cleane away, and after this sort deceived them: And they thinking or fearing that we were the like, did shoote at us as they did. This being past, the next day after our arrivall in the sayd port, wee did unbarke our selves and went on lande up

to the citie or head towne of the great Canaria, where we remained 18. or 20. dayes: and there found certaine Englishmen marchants servants of one Anthony Hickman and Edward Castelin, marchants of the citie of London that lay there in traffique, of whom wee received great courtesie and much good cheere. After the which 20. dayes being past, in the which we had seene the countrey, the people, and the disposition thereof, wee departed from thence, and passed to the next Ile of the Canaries 18. leagues off, called Teneriffe, and being come on land, went up to the citie called La Laguna, where we remained 7. moneths, attending the comming of the whole fleete, which in the ende came, and there having taken that which they had neede of, wee shipped our selves in a ship of Cadiz, being one of the saide fleete, which was belonging to an Englishman married in the citie of Cadiz in Spaine, whose name was John Sweeting, and there came in the sayd ship for captain also an Englishman married in Cadiz, and sonne in law to the sayde John Sweeting, ² whose name was Leonard Chilton: ³ there came also in the said ship another Englisman which had bene a marchant of the citie of Exeter, one of 50. yeeres or thereabout, whose name was Ralph Sarre. ⁴ So that wee departed from the sayd Ilands in the moneth of October the foresayd yeere, 8. ships in our companie, and so directed our course towards the bay of Mexico, and by the way towards the Iland of S. Domingo, otherwise called Hispaniola. So that within 32. dayes after we departed from the Iles of Canaries wee arrived with our ship at the port of S. Domingo, and went in over the barre where our ship knocked her keele at her entrie: and there our ship rid before the towne, where wee went on land, & refreshed our selves 16. dayes, where we found no bread made of wheat, but biscuit brought out of Spaine, and out of the bay of Mexico: for the countrey it selfe doeth yeelde no kinde of graine to make bread withall. But the bread they make there, is certaine cakes made of rootes called Cassavi, ⁵ which is something

English factors
in the Grand
Canaria.

John Sweeting
Englishman
married in
Cadiz, sendeth
a ship of his
owne into the
West Indies
under the con-
duct of his
sonne in lawe
Leonard Chil-
ton. Ralph
Sarre.

substantiall, but it hath but an unsavorie taste in the eating thereof. Flesh of beeve and mutton they have great store: for there are men that have 10000. head of cattell, of oxen, bulles and kine, which they doe keepe onely for the hides: for the quantitie of flesh is so great, that they are not able to spend the hundreth part. Hogs flesh is there good store, very sweete and savorie, and so holosome, that they give it to sick folkes to eat in stead of hennes and capons, although they have good store of poultrie of that sort, as also of Guyncocks & Guinyhens. At the time of our being there, the citie of S. Domingo was not of above 500. households of Spaniards, but of the Indians dwelling in the suburbs there were more. The country is most part of the yere very hot, & very ful of a kind of flies or gnats with long bills, which do pricke & molest the people very much in the night when they are asleepe, in pricking their faces and hands, and other parts of their bodies that lie uncovered, & make them to swel wonderfully.

Many of our
men died of
these wormes
at the taking
of Puerto rico

Also there is another kind of small worme which creepeth into the soles of mens feet & especially of the black Moores and children which use to go barefoot, & maketh their feet to grow as big as a mans head, & doth so ake that it would make one run mad. They have no remedy for the same, but to open the flesh sometimes 3. or 4. inches & so dig them out. The countrey yeeldeth great store of suger, hides of oxen, buls and kine, ginger, Cana fistula & Salsa perillia: ⁶ mines of silver & gold there are none, but in some rivers there is found some smal quantitie of gold. The principal coine that they do trafique withal in that place, is blacke money made of copper & brasse: and this they say they do use not for that they lacke money of gold and silver to trade withall out of the other parts of India, but because if they should have good money, the marchants that deale with them in trade, would cary away their gold and silver, and let the countrey commodities lie still. And thus much for S. Domingo. So we were comming from the yles of Canaries to S. Domingo, & there

staying until the moneth of December, which was 3. moneths. About the beginning of January we departed thence towards the bay of Mexico & new Spaine, toward which we set our course, and so sailed 24. dayes till we came within 15. leagues of S. John de Ullua, which was the port of Mexico of our right discharge: And being so neere our said port, there rose a storme of Northerly windes, which came off from Terra Florida, which caused us to cast about into the sea againe, for feare least that night we should be cast upon the shoare before day did breake, and so put our selves in danger of casting away: the winde and sea grew so foule and strong, that within two houres after the storme began, eight ships that were together were so dispersed, that we could not see one another. One of the ships of our company being of the burthen of 500. tun called the hulke of Carion, would not cast about to sea as we did, but went that night with the land, thinking in the morning to purchase the port of S. John de Ullua, but missing the port went with the shoare and was cast away. There were drowned of that ship 75. persons, men, women and children, and 64. were saved that could swim, and had meanes to save themselves: among those that perished in that ship, was a gentleman who had bene present ⁷ the yere before in S. Domingo, his wife and 4. daughters with the rest of his servants & houshold. We with the other 7. ships cast about into the sea, the storme during 10. dayes with great might, boisterous winds, fogs & raine: our ship being old and weake was so tossed, that she opened at the sterne a fadome under water, and the best remedy we had was to stop it with beds and pilobiers, and for feare of sinking we threw and lightned into the sea all the goods we had or could come by: but that would not serve. Then we cut our maine mast and threw all our Ordinance into the sea saving one peece, which early in a morning when wee thought wee should have sunke, we shot off, and as pleased God there was one of the ships of our company neere unto us, which we saw not by

meanes of the great fogge, which hearing the sound of the piece, & understanding some of the company to be in great extremitie, began to make towards us, and when they came within hearing of us, we desired them for the love of God to helpe to save us, for that we were all like to perish. They willed us to hoise our foresaile as much as we could & make towards them, for they would do their best to save us, and so we did: And we had no sooner hoised our foresaile, but there came a gale of winde & a piece of a sea, strooke in the foresaile, and caried saile & maste all overboord, so that then we thought there was no hope of life. And then we began to imbrace one another, every man his friend, every wife her husband, and the children their fathers and mothers, committing our soules to Almighty God, thinking never to escape alive: yet it pleased God in the time of most need when all hope was past, to aide us with his helping hand, and caused the winde a little to cease, so that within two houres after, the other ship was able to come aboard us, & tooke into her with her boat man, woman and child, naked without hose or shoe upon many of our feete. I do remember that the last person that came out of the ship into the boat, was a woman blacke Moore, who leaping out of the ship into the boat with a yong sucking child in her armes, lept too short and fell into the sea, and was a good while under the water before the boat could come to rescue her, and with the spreading of her clothes rose above water againe, and was caught by the coat & pulled into the boate having still her child under her arme, both of them halfe drowned, and yet her naturall love towards her child would not let her let the childe goe. And when she came aboard the boate she helde her childe so fast under her arme still, that two men were scant able to get it out. So we departed out of our ship & left it in the sea: it was worth foure hundreth thousand ducats, ship & goods when we left it. And within three dayes after we arrived at our port of S. John de Ullua in New Spaine. I do remember that in the great and boysterous

storme of this foule weather, in the night, there came upon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine maste, a certaine little light, much like unto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the Cuerpo santo, and saide it was S. Elmo, whom they take to bee the advocate of Sailers. At the which sight the Spaniards fell downe upon their knees and worshipped it, praying God and S. Elmo ⁸ to cease the torment, and save them from the perill that they were in, with promising him that at their comming on land, they would repaire unto his Chappell, and there cause Masses to be saide, and other ceremonies to be done. The friers cast reliques into the sea, to cause the sea to be still, and likewise said Gospels, with other crossings and ceremonies upon the sea to make the storme to cease: which (as they said) did much good to weaken the furie of the storme. But I could not perceive it, nor gave no credite to it, till it pleased God to send us the remedie & delivered us from the rage of the same, His Name be praised therefore. This light continued aboard our ship about three houres, flying from maste to maste, & from top to top: and sometime it would be in two or three places at once. I informed my selfe of learned men afterward what that light should be, and they said, that it was but a congelation of the winde and vapours of the Sea congealed with the extremitie of the weather, which flying in the winde, many times doeth chance to hit on the masts and shrowds of the ships that are at sea in foule weather. And in trueth I do take it to be so: for that I have seene the like in other ships at sea, and in sundry ships at once. By this men may see how the Papists are given to beleve and worship such vaine things and toyes, as God, to whom all honour doth appertaine, and in their neede and necessities do let to call upon the living God, who is the giver of all good things.

Cuerpo Santo

The 16. of April in Anno 1556. we arrived at the port of S. John de Ullua in new Spaine, very naked and distressed of apparell, and all other things, by meanes of the losse of our

VOYAGE OF

His arrival at
Vera Cruz

Florida 300.
leagues from
San Juan de
Ullua.

Mexico

foresaid ship and goods, and from thence we went to the new Towne called Vera Cruz, five leagues from the said port of S. John de Ullua, marching still by the sea side, where wee found lying upon the sands great quantitie of mightie great trees with rootes and all, some of them of foure, five, and sixe cart load by our estimation, which, as the people tolde us, were in the great stormy weather, which we indured at sea, rooted out of the ground in Terra Florida, which is three hundreth leagues over by Sea, and brought thither. So we came to the saide Towne of Vera cruz, where wee remained a moneth: and there the said John Field chanced to meete with an olde friend of his acquaintance in Spaine, called Gonzalo Ruiz de Cordova, a very rich man of the saide Towne of Vera cruz: who hearing of his comming thither with his wife and family, and of his misfortune by Sea, came unto him and received him and all his houshold into his house, and kept us there a whole moneth, making us very good cheere, and giving us good intertainement, and also gave us that were in all eight persons of the said John Fields house, double apparell new out of the shop of very good cloth, coates, cloakes, hose, shirts, smocks, gownes for the women, hose, shooes, and al other necessary apparel, and for our way up to the Citie of Mexico, horses, moiles, and men, and money in our purses for the expences by the way, which by our accompt might amount unto the summe of 400. Crownes. And after wee were entred two dayes journey into the Countrey, I the saide Robert Tomson fell so sicke of an ague, that the next day I was not able to sit on my horse, but was faine to be caried upon Indians backes, from thence to Mexico. And when wee came within halfe a dayes journey of the Citie of Mexico, the saide John Field also fell sicke, and within three dayes after we arrived at the said Citie. hee died: And presently sickened one of his children, and two more of his houshold people and within eight dayes died. So that within tenne dayes after we arrived at the Citie of Mexico, of eight persons that were of us of

the saide company, there remained but foure alive, and I the said Tomson was at the point of death of the sicknes that I got upon the way, which continued with mee the space of sixe moneths. At the ende of which time it pleased Almightye God to restore me my health againe, although weake and greatly disabled. And being some thing strong, I procured to seeke meanes to live, and to seeke a way how to profite my selfe in the Countrey, seeing it had pleased God to sende us thither in safetie. Then by friendship of one Thomas Blake ⁹ a Scottishman borne, who had dwelt and had bene married in the said Citie above twentie yeeres before I came to the saide Citie, I was preferred to the service of a gentleman a Spaniard dwelling there, a man of great wealth, and one of the first conquerours of the said Citie, whose name was Gonzalo Cerezo, ¹⁰ with whom I dwelt twelve moneths and a halfe. At the ende of which I was maliciously accused by the Holy house for matters of Religion, and so apprehended and caried to prison, ¹¹ where I lay close prisoner seven moneths, without speaking to any creature, but to the Jailer that kept the said prison, when he brought me my meat and drinke. In the meane time was brought into the saide prison one Augustin Boacio ¹² an Italian of Genoua also for matters of Religion, who was taken at Sacatecas 80. leagues to the Northwest of the Citie of Mexico: At the ende of the said seven moneths, we were both caried to the high Church of Mexico, to doe open penance upon an high scaffold, made before the high Altar, upon a Sunday, in the presence of a very great number of people, who were at the least five or sixe thousand. For there were that came one hundreth mile off, to see the saide Auto ¹³ (as they call it) for that there were never none before, that had done the like in the said Countrey, nor could not tell what Lutheranes were, nor what it meant: for they never heard of any such thing before. We were brought into the Church, every one with a S. Benito upon his backe, which is halfe a yard of yellow cloth, with a hole to put

in a mans head in the midst, and cast over a mans head: both flaps hang one before, and another behinde, and in the midst of every flap, a S. Andrewes crosse, made of red cloth, sowed on upon the same, and that is called S. Benito. The common people before they sawe the penitents come into the Church, were given to understand that wee were heretiques, infidels, and people that did despise God, and his workes, and that wee had bene more like devils then men, and thought wee had had the favour of some monsters, or heathen people. And when they saw us come into the Church in our players coates, the women and children beganne to cry out, and made such a noise, that it was strange to see and heare, saying, that they never sawe goodlier men in all their lives, and that it was not possible that there could be in us so much evill as was reported of us, and that we were more like Angels among men, then such persons of such evill Religion as by the Priestes and friers wee were reported to be, and that it was great pitie that wee should bee so used for so small an offence. So that being brought into the saide high Church, and set upon the scaffold which was made before the high Altar, in the presence of all the people, untill high Masse was done, and the sermon made by a frier, concerning our matter, they did put us in all the disgrace they could, to cause the people not to take so much compassion upon us, for that wee were heretiques, & people that were seduced of the devill, & had forsaken the faith of the Catholique Church of Rome, with divers other reprochfull wordes, which were too long to recite in this place. High Masse and Sermon being done, our offences, as they called them, were recited, every man what he had said and done, and presently was the sentence pronounced against us. That was, that the said Augustine Boacio was condemned to weare his S. Benito all the dayes of his life, and put into perpetuall prison, where hee should fulfill the same, and all his goods confiscated and lost. And I the saide Tomson to weare the S. Benito for

three yeeres, and then to be set at libertie. And for the accomplishing of this sentence or condemnation, we must be presently sent downe from Mexico, ¹⁴ to Vera Cruz, and from thence to S. John de Ullua, and there to be shipped for Spaine, which was 65. leagues by land, with strait commandement, that upon paine of 1000. duckets, the Masters every one should looke straitly unto us, and carry us to Spaine, and deliver us unto the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Sivill, that they should put us in the places, where we should fulfill our penances that the Archbishop of Mexico had enjoined unto us, by his sentence there given. For performance of the which, we were sent downe from Mexico, to the Sea side, which was 65. leagues, with fetters upon our feete, and there delivered to the Masters of the ships, to be caried for Spaine, as before is said. And it was so, that the Italian, fearing that if he had presented himselfe in Spaine before the Inquisitors, that they would have burned him, to prevent that danger, when wee were comming homeward, and were arrived at the yland of Tercera, one of the ysles of the Azores, the first night that we came into the said port to an ancker, about midnight he found the meanes to get him naked out of the ship into the sea, & swam naked a shoare, and so presently got him to the further side of the yland, where hee found a little Carvel ready to depart for Portugal, in the which he came to Lisbone, and passed into France, and so into England, where hee ended his life in the Citie of London. And I for my part kept still aboard the ship, and came into Spaine, and was delivered to the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Sivill, where they kept me in close prison, till I had fulfilled the three yeeres of my penance. Which time being expired, I was freely put out of prison, and set at libertie: and being in the Citie of Sivil a casher of one Hugh Typton, ¹⁵ an English marchant of great doing, by the space of one yeere, it fortunated that there came out of the Citie of Mexico, a Spaniard, called John de la Barrera, ¹⁶ that had

bene long time in the Indies, and had got great summes of golde and silver, and with one onely daughter shipped himselfe for to come for Spaine, and by the way chanced to die, and gave all that hee had unto his onely daughter, whose name was Marie de la Barrera, and being arrived at the Citie of Sivil, it was my chance to marry with her. The marriage was worth to mee 2500. pounds in barres of golde and silver, besides jewels of great price. This I thought good to speake of, to shew the goodnes of God to all them that put their trust in him, that I being brought out of the Indies, in such great misery and infamy to the world, should be provided at Gods hand in one moment, of more then in all my life before I could attaine unto by my owne labour.

After we departed from Mexico, our S. Benitoes were set up in the high Church of the said Citie, with our names written in the same, according to their use and custome, which is and will be a monument and a remembrance of us, as long as the Romish Church doth raigne in that country. The same have bene seene since by one John Chilton, ¹⁷ and divers others of our nation, which were left in that countrey long since, by Sir John Hawkins. And because it shalbe knowen wherefore it was that I was so punished by the Clergies hande, as before is mentioned, I will in brieve words declare the same. ¹⁸

It is so, that being in Mexico at the table, among many principall people at dinner, they began to inquire of me being an Englishman, whether it were true, that in England they had overthrowen all their Churches and houses of Religion, and that all the images of the Saints of heaven that were in them were throwen downe, broken, and burned, and in some places high wayes stoned with them, and whether the English nation denied their obedience to the Pope of Rome, as they had bene certified out of Spaine by their friends. To whom I made answer, that it was so, that in deed they had in England put downe all the Religious houses of friers and monks that were in England, and

the images that were in their Churches and other places were taken away, and used there no more: for that (as they say) the making of them, and putting of them where they were adored, was cleane contrary to the expresse commandement of Almighty God, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any graven image, &c. and that for that cause they thought it not lawfull that they should stand in the Church, which is the house of adoration. One that was at the declaring of these words, who was my master Gonsalo Cereso, answered and said, if it were against the commandement of God, to have images in the Churches, that then he had spent a great deale of money in vaine, for that two yeres past he had made in the monastery of Santo Domingo, in the said citie of Mexico, an image of our Lady of pure silver & golde, with pearles and precious stones, which cost him 7000. and odde pesos, and every peso is 4.s. 8.d. of our money: which indeed was true, for that I have seene it many times my selfe where it stands. At the table was another gentleman, who presuming to defend the cause more then any other that was there, saide, that they knew well ynough that they were made but of stockes and stones, and that to them was no worship given, but that there was a certaine veneration due unto them after they were set up in the Church, and that they were set there to a good intent: the one, for that they were books for the simple people, to make them understand the glory of the saints that were in heaven, & a shape of them to put us in remembrance to cal upon them, to be our intercessors unto God for us, for that we are such miserable sinners, that we are not worthy to appeare before God, & that using devotion to saints in heaven, they may obtaine at Gods hands the sooner, the thing that we demand of him. As for example, said he, imagin that a subject hath offended his king upon the earth in any kind of respect, is it for the party to go boldly to the king in person, & to demand pardon for his offences? No, saith he, the presumption were too great, & possibly he might be repulsed, and have a great

rebuke for his labour. Better it is for such a person to seek some private man neere the king in his Court, and make him acquainted with his matter, & let him be a mediator to his Majesty for him, & for the matter he hath to do with him, and so might he the better come to his purpose, and obtaine the thing which he doeth demand: even so saith he, it is with God and his saints in heaven: for we are wretched sinners: and not worthy to appeare nor present our selves before the Majesty of God, to demand of him the thing that we have need of: therefore thou hast need to be devout, and have devotion to the mother of God, and the saints of heaven, to be intercessors to God for thee, and so mayest thou the better obtaine of God the thing that thou dost demand. To this I answered, & said, sir, as touching the comparison you made of the intercessors to the king, how necessary they were, I would but aske you this question. Set the case that this king you speak of, if he be so merciful, as, when he knoweth that one, or any of his subjects hath offended him, he send for him to his owne towne, or to his owne house, or palace, & say unto him, come hither, I know that thou hast offended many lawes, if thou doest know thereof, and doest repent thee of the same, with ful intent to offend no more, I wil forgive thy trespasses, and remember it no more: said I, if this be done by the kings owne person, what then hath this man need to go seeke friendship at any of the kings privat servants hands, but go to the principal, seeing that he is readier to forgive thee, then thou art to demand forgiveness at his hands? Even so is it with our gracious God, who calleth and crieth out unto us throughout all the world, by the mouth of his Prophets, Apostles, and by his owne mouth, saying, Come unto me al ye that labour and are over laden, and I wil refresh you: besides 1000. other offers and proffers which hee doth make unto us in his holy Scriptures. What then have we need of the saints helpe that are in heaven, whereas the Lord himself doth so freely offer himselfe unto us? At which sayings, many of the hearers were

astonied, and said, that by that reason, I would give to understand, that the invocation of Saints was to be disanulled, and by the Lawes of God not commanded. I answered, that they were not my words but the words of God himselfe: looke into the Scriptures your selfe, and you shall so finde it. The talke was perceived to be prejudiciall to the Romish doctrine, and therefore it was commanded to be no more entreated of, and all remained unthought upon, had it not bene for a villanous Portugal ¹⁹ that was in the company, who said, Basta ser Ingles para saber todo esto y mas: who the next day, without imparting any thing to any body, went to the Bishop of Mexico, and his Provisor, and said, that in a place where he had bene the day before, was an Englishman, who had said, that there was no need of Saints in the Church, nor of any invocation of Saints, upon whose denomination I was apprehended for the same words here rehearsed, and none other thing, and thereupon was used, as before is written.

Now to speake somewhat of the description of the countrey, you shall understand, that the port of S. John de Ullua ²⁰ is a very litle Island low by the water side, the broadest or longest part thereof not above a bow shoote over, and standeth within two furlongs of the firme land. In my time there was but one house, and a little Chappel to say Masse in, in all the Island: the side to the land wards is made by mans handes, with free-stone and gravel, and is 4. fadome deep downe right, wherfore the great ships that come in there do ride so neere the shoare of the Island, that you may come and goe aland upon their beake noses. They use to put great chaines of yron in at their halsers, and an ancker to the landward, and all little ynough to more well their shippes for feare of the Northerly winds, which come off the coast of Florida, that sometimes have caried ships, & houses, and all away to the shoare. The king was wont to have 20. great mightie Negroes, who did serve for nothing else, but onely to repaire the said Island, where the foule weather doeth hurt it. The

Sant Juan de
Ullua

VOYAGE OF

Countrey all thereabout is very plaine ground, & a mile from the sea side a great wildernes, with great quantitie of red Deere in the same, so that when the mariners of the ships are disposed, they go up into the wildernes, and do kil of the same, and bring them aboard to eate, for their recreation.

The way and distance from San Juan de Ullua to Vera Cruz, is five leagues.

From this port to the next towne, which is called Vera Cruz, ²¹ are 5. leagues almost by the Sea side, till you come within one league of the place, and then you turne up towards the land, into a wood, till you come to a litle river hard by the said townes side, which sometimes of the yere is dry without water. The towne of Vera Cruz in my time, had not past 300. houtholds, and served but for the folke of the ships, to buy and bring their goods aland, and deliver it to their owners, as also the owners and their factors to receive their goods of the Masters of the ships. This towne standeth also in a very plaine on the one side the river, and the other side is environed with much sande blowen from the sea side with the tempest of weather, many times comming upon that coast. This towne also is subject to great sicknes, and in my time many of the Mariners & officers of the ships did die with those diseases, there accustomed, & especially those that were not used to the countrey, nor knew the danger therof, but would commonly go in the Sunne in the heat of the day, & did eat fruit of the countrey with much disorder, and especially gave themselves to womens company at their first comming: whereupon they were cast into a burning ague, of the which few escaped.

Venta de Rinconado

Halfe a dayes journey from Vera Cruz, towards Mexico, is a lodging of five or sixe houses, called the Rinconado, which is a place, where is a great pinnacle made of lime and stone, fast by a river side, where the Indians were wont to doe their sacrifices unto their gods, and it is plaine and low ground betwixt that and Vera Cruz, and also subject to sicknes: but afterward halfe a dayes journey that you do begin to enter into the high land, you shall find as faire, good, and sweet countrey, as any in the world,

and the farther you go, the goodlier and sweeter the countrey is, till you come to Pueblo de los Angeles, which may be some 43 leagues from Vera Cruz, which was in my time a towne of 600. households, or thereabout, standing in a goodly soile. Betweene Vera Cruz and that you shall come through many townes of the Indians, and villages, and many goodly fieldes of medow grounds, Rivers of fresh waters, forrests, and great woods, very pleasant to behold. From Pueblo de los Angeles, to Mexico, is 20. leagues of very faire way and countrey, as before is declared. Mexico ²² Mexico was a Citie in my time, of not above 1500. households of Spaniards inhabiting there, but of Indian people in the suburbs of the said city, dwelt above 300000. as it was thought, and many more. This City of Mexico is 65. leagues from the North sea, and 75. leagues from the South sea, so that it standeth in the midst of the maine land, betwixt the one sea and the other. It is situated in the midst of a lake of standing water, and environed round about with the same, saving in many places, going out of the Citie, are many broad wayes through the said lake or water. This lake and Citie is environed also with great mountaines round about, which are in compasse above thirtie leagues, and the saide Citie, and lake of standing water, doeth stand in a great plaine in the midst of it. This lake of standing water doeth proceed from the shedding of the raine, that falleth upon the saide mountaines, and so gather themselves together in this place.

All the whole proportion of this Citie doeth stand in a very plaine ground, and in the midst of the said Citie is a square place of a good bow shoote over from side to side: and in the midst of the said place is the high Church, very faire and well builded all through, at that time not halfe finished, and round about the said place, are many faire houses built: on the one side, are the houses where Mutezuma the great king of Mexico that was, dwelt, and now there lye alwayes the viceroyes that the King of Spaine sendeth thither every three yeeres. And in my time there

Don Luis de Velasco was for viceroy a gentleman of Castil, called Don Luis de Velasco. ²³ And on the other side of the saide place, over against the same, is the Bishops house, very faire built, and many other houses of goodly building. And hard by the same, are also other very faire houses, built by the Marques de Valle, otherwise called Hernando Cortes, who was hee that first conquered the saide Citie and Countrey, who after the said conquest which hee made with great labour and travaile of his person, and danger of his life, and being growen great in the Countrey, the King of Spaine sent for him, saying that he had some particular matters to impart unto him. And when he came home, he could not bee suffered to returne backe againe, as the King before had promised him. With the which, for sorrow that he tooke, he died; and this he had for the reward of his good service.

This is to be understood of his second comming into Spaine.

The said Citie of Mexico hath the streetes made very broad, and right, that a man being in the high place, at the one ende of the street, may see at the least a good mile forward, and in all the one part of the streets of the North part of their Citie, there runneth a pretie lake of very cleare water, that every man may put into his house as much as he will, without the cost of any thing, but of the letting in. Also there is a great cave or ditch of water, that commeth through the Citie, even unto the high place, where come every morning at the break of the day twentie or thirtie Canoas, or troughes of the Indians, which bring in them all maner of provision for the citie, which is made, and groweth in the Countrey, which is a very good commoditie for the inhabitants of that place. And as for victuals in the said Citie, of beefe, mutton, and hennes, capons, quailles, Guiny-cockes, and such like, all are very good cheape: To say, the whole quarter of an oxe, as much as a slave can carry away from the Butchers, for five Tomynes, that is, five Royals of plate, which is just two shillings and sixe pence, and a fat sheepe at the Butchers for three Royals, which is 18. pence and no more. Bread is as good cheape

as in Spaine, and al other kinde of fruites, as apples, pearces, pomegranats, and quinces, at a reasonable rate. The Citie goeth wonderfully forwards in building of Frieries and Nunneries, and Chappels, and is like in time to come, to be the most populous Citie in the world, as it may be supposed. The weather is there alwayes very temperate, the day differeth but one houre of length all the yere long. ²⁴ The fields and the woods are alwayes greene. The woods full of popinjayes, and many other kinde of birdes, that make such an harmonie of singing, and crying, that any man will rejoyce to heare it. In the fields are such odoriferous smels of flowers and hearbs, that it giveth great content to the senses. About the Citie of Mexico two, three, or foure leagues off, are divers townes of Indians, some of 4000. or 6000. houtholds, which doe stand in such a goodly soyle, that if Christians had the inhabitation thereof, it would be put to a further benefite. In my time were dwelling and alive in Mexico, many ancient men that were of the conquerours at the first conquest with Hernando Cortes: for then it was about 36. yeeres agoe, that the said Countrey was conquered. ²⁵

Mexico
conquered.
Anno 1519.
and 1520.

About Mexico there are divers Mines of silver, and also in other places there about, but the principall Mines that are in all New Spaine are in Sacatecas, 80. leagues from Mexico, and the Mines of S. Martin, thirtie leagues, both to the Northwestward of Mexico, where is great store of gold and silver. Also there is a place called the Misteca, fiftie leagues to the Northwest, which doth yeeld great store of very good silke, and Cochinilla. Wine and oyle there is none growing in the Countrey, but what commeth out of Spaine. Also there are many goodly fruits in that Countrey, whereof we have none such, as Plantanos, Guyaves, Sapotes, Tunas, and in the wildernes great store of blacke cherries, and other wholesome fruites. The Cochinilla ²⁶ is not a worme, or a flye, as some say it is, but a berrie that groweth upon certaine bushes in the wilde fieldes, which is gathered in time of the yeere, when it

Cochinilla is
not a worme
nor a flye, but
a berry.

VOYAGE OF

Indico.

is ripe. Also the Indico that doeth come from thence to die blew, is a certaine hearbe that groweth in the wilde fieldes, and is gathered at one time of the yeere, and burnt, and of the ashes thereof, with other confections put thereunto, the saide Indico is made. Balme, Salsa perilla, Cana fistula, ²⁷ suger, oxe hides, and many other good and serviceable things the Countrey doeth yeeld, which are yeerely brought into Spaine, and there solde and distributed to many nations.

ROBERT TOMSON.

II

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS IN MEXICO CITY AGAINST
ROBERT TOMSON 1559-1560.

Translation of a transcript from the original process
in the Mexican National Archives.

(Inquisition, Vol. 32. – No. 8. 32 folios)

1560. Mex.
 14. *Señor*
Francisco de Valdeazul fiscal de la corte
11 de 8

ffonso tomsongilea

De quel suso ghu gaeitae potabrac de la de piovah
de talie tomsongilea forter mien son rafe ca golia

Luciel & tomsongilea pavisos

notario som de glaze to

sem p n do ad esmbem to
vnode fag alto fast artade v l pad

11 de 8

(Title Page)

Mexico, 1560.

Criminal Proceedings brought by Cristobal de
Toledo, Fiscal Constable (*alguazil fiscal*)
of this Archbishopric
against

ROBERT TOMSON, ENGLISHMAN,
asserting that the said person had made certain
remarks similar to those which are used by the
accursed Lutheran heretics, and derogatory to
our Holy Catholic Faith.

Judge Provisor,
DOCTOR ANGUIS,
Vicar General.

Notary,
JUAN DE YBARRETA.

(*Sentenced to wear the
San Benito two years
and one year in prison
in Castille—1560.*)

Heretic.

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

I

DENUNCIATION OF ROBERT TOMSON.

9th. Sept. 1559.

In the City of Mexico, of New Spain, this ninth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and fifty nine, the Very Reverend and Very Magnificent Seigneur, the Doctor Anguis,¹ Judge Provisor and Vicar-General of this Archbishopric of Mexico, in the presence of the undersigned Juan de Ybarreta, private apostolic Notary and Notary of the Audiencia of the Archbishopric of Mexico, said that it had been brought to his notice that Robert Tomson, an Englishman, without fear of the Lord or of the ecclesiastical justice, has said many things against our Holy Catholic Faith, which are those preached by the Lutheran sect, thus committing a grievous offence of conscience and mind and setting a bad example to those who heard his remarks, and that to put a remedy thereto he ordered that an investigation be made in the manner hereinafter explained.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

(a) EVIDENCE OF GONZALO CEREZO, HIGH CONSTABLE OF THE COURT.

And in continuation, in the said City of Mexico this said ninth day of September of the said year, for the said investigation there was taken and received the oath of Gonzalo Cerezo,² High

AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON

Constable of the Court (alguazil mayor de corte); who swore by Our Lord God and by Saint Mary, and by the Sign of the Cross to declare the truth of what he might know and might be asked.

Being questioned in the tenor of the foregoing, he stated that he is acquainted with the said Robert Tomson, who is his servant, and that what he knows on the subject is that the day before yesterday, Thursday, he, the witness, being at dinner, waited on by the said Robert Tomson, the latter fell into talk with another servant of the witness, on the subject of the prayers to the saints, and the said Tomson remarked that the saints being of wood and stone there was no necessity to offer up prayers to them. The witness thereupon explained to him that the saints who were so depicted represented those who were in Heaven, the prayers not being addressed to those here but to those above, to which the said Robert replied that not even to those who were in Heaven should prayers be offered up, but only to God, who stood with open arms in Heaven, whereupon the witness made him a comparison, saying that when a poor man wished to ask a favour from the King, or to crave his pardon for some offence and did not venture to do so direct, he was only too glad to commend himself to some favourite courtier to the end that the latter might beg for the boon, and the said Robert answered that for that very object the King stationed himself at a window so that great and small might address him, and that in like fashion God stood at a window when Mass was being said, in order that sinners might appeal to Him direct instead of through the saints, whereupon the witness rebuked him, saying that was a Lutheran heresy and that he did ill in repeating it. The foregoing is what he knows and is the truth, on the oath which he has taken; in testimony whereof he signs his name.

(Signed) GONZALO DE CEREZO.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

(b) EVIDENCE OF MANUEL BORGES, MAJORDOMO TO GONZALO CEREZO

The said Judge Provisor, for the purposes of the said investigation, then took and received on oath in due legal form, by Our Lord and Saint Mary, and by the Sign of the Cross, the declaration of Manuel Borges, majordomo of the High Constable Cerezo, who swore to speak the truth of what he might know and might be asked. Being questioned in the tenor of the foregoing, he stated that he is acquainted with the aforesaid Robert Tomson, Englishman, and that what he knows of the matter is that on the day before yesterday, Thursday, the witness and the said Robert Tomson being engaged in serving the dinner of the aforesaid High Constable, he, the witness, and Tomson fell into talk on the subject of the prayers which Christians are accustomed to offer up to the saints, the said Robert Tomson saying that the saints were painted wooden images and made by man, and that in consequence there was no necessity to make prayers to them. To these remarks the High Constable explained to the said Robert that the saints who were so depicted commemorated those who were in Heaven, and that to the end that they might be remembered they were so represented, and that the prayers were not offered to their images here but to themselves in Heaven. To this the said Robert replied that not even to those who were in Heaven should supplications be made, but only to God, who stood with open arms in Heaven, whereupon the said High Constable made a comparison to the effect that when some poor man wished to ask a favour from the King, or crave pardon for some offence, he did not venture to do so personally, but considered it a very great thing to be able to commend himself to some favoured courtier of the King as his intermediary. The said Robert made reply that for that very reason the King was accustomed to station himself at a window, that all might

speak to him, and that, in like manner, God stationed himself at a window when Mass was being said, that sinners might approach him through that sacrifice direct and not through the saints. Whereupon the High Constable told him that that was a Lutheran heresy and rebuked him; that after the High Constable had departed, the witness and Robert went out to get their dinner, and that when they were seated at table the latter again affirmed what at the table of the High Constable he had asserted, and to confound him, the witness told him that as the saints, sculptured or painted or otherwise represented, were permitted in the consecrated churches, it was not well that he or any other person should dare to object thereto, and that as he said this Maria de Espinosa, the mistress of the house where they served, came out and told them that they should not discuss the matter any more, on which the argument came to an end. Further, the witness does not hold the said Robert to be a good Christian, because during the four months more or less that he has known the said Robert in the house of the High Constable, he has never seen him make the Sign of the Cross nor pray nor perform any other Christian act; and on several occasions, going to church with him, when Mass had begun or was finishing, he would go home without hearing the whole of same; and because a servant of the High Constable, of the name of Jorge Veneciano, had remarked to the witness that he had been acquainted with Robert Tomson for a couple of years more or less, and that he had never known him to go to Confession or Communion, and that all the countrymen of the said Tomson were Lutherans. The witness further said that the first Friday after the publication of the Jubilee in this city he saw Robert Tomson at breakfast, which caused the witness to suspect that, although in good health, he had not attended the said Jubilee. The foregoing is the truth and what he knows of the matter, by the oath which he has taken. Asked to give his statutory description, he stated that he is thirty-eight years of

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

age, more or less, and that he is neither a relation nor an enemy of the aforesaid Tomson. In witness whereof he signed his name.

(Signed) MANUEL BORGES.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

(c) EVIDENCE OF JORGE MANUEL, PAGE TO GONZALO
DE CEREZO

10th. Sept. 1559

And in continuation, in the said City of Mexico on the tenth day of the month of September of the said year, the Judge Provisor, in pursuance of the said investigation, ordered to be called before him Jorge Manuel, page to the aforesaid High Constable, who being sworn in due legal form by the Lord God and Saint Mary and by the Sign of the Cross, pledged himself to speak the truth of what he might know or be asked, and being questioned in the tenor of the interrogatory aforesaid, stated that he is acquainted with the said Robert Tomson. Being asked to make his statutory description, he said that he was eighteen years of age, more or less, and that none of the legal exceptions apply to him. Being questioned by the Judge Provisor as to how long he had known the accused, he replied that he had known him for a year more or less, he and Tomson having come out together in a ship from Spain. And that what he knows of the present matter is that last Thursday, he and Tomson and Manuel Borges being engaged in serving dinner to the High Constable, a discussion arose between Tomson and Borges on the subject of the prayers and devotions which Christians are accustomed to offer up to the saints, in the course of which the said Tomson enquired why there should be in the churches saints of wood and paint, images which he himself could reproduce, observing that prayers should not be made to them, but to the saints themselves who were in Heaven and to God. Asked whether it was true that about two months ago, more or less, there being an image hung up

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at the head of the bed of the said Robert Tomson, the latter removed the image from the place where it was hanging and put it away in a box, placing his cap on the nail where the image had hung, remarking that the image was in the way as it occupied the nail which he needed for his cap. The witness replied that it might be about that time that he hung up at the head of Tomson's bed an image of Our Lady, and on the morning of the following day he saw a cap hanging on the nail, the image having been removed and put away in a chest, whereupon the witness asked Tomson why he had removed the image, and the latter replied that he had done so because it was hung on the nail where he placed his cap. That the foregoing is what he knows and the truth by the oath which he has taken, and he ratifies and confirms same, not signing on account of being unable to write.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN GOMEZ.

Notary.

(d) EVIDENCE OF SEBASTIAN GALLEG0, BROTHER-IN-LAW OF GONZALO CEREZO.

And in pursuance of the said investigation, the testimony was taken under oath, in due legal form, of Sebastian Gallego, brother of María de Espinosa, wife of the High Constable Gonzalo Cerezo, he swearing by Our Lord and Saint Mary, and by the Sign of the Cross to declare the truth in regard to what he might know or be asked. Questioned in the tenor of the interrogatory aforesaid, he said that he had been acquainted with Robert Tomson for a year past, rather less than more, during which time the latter has been serving in the house of the High Constable Cerezo. Asked the usual general questions, he said that he is thirty-eight years of age more or less, that he is neither a relation nor an enemy of the said Tomson, and that he does not come under any of the other exceptions regarding the

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admissibility of evidence. What he knows of the matter is that, on Thursday last, he, the witness, being at dinner with the High Constable and waited on by Robert Tomson and Manuel de Borges, a conversation arose between those two as to the prayers which are offered up to the saints, in the course of which Robert Tomson remarked that the saints were made of wood or stone or painted, he himself being able to make and paint them, for which reason there was no necessity to offer prayers to them. The High Constable thereupon explained to him that those saints who were of wood and painted were the images of those who were in Heaven and that the prayers were not offered to the saints here but to those above. To this Tomson replied that the saints here on earth were worth nothing and were nothing, being merely images of wood or stone or painted canvas, and that neither to them nor to those who were in Heaven should prayers be offered up, but only to God, who stood with open arms in Heaven, and to His Mother. The High Constable thereupon proceeded to draw a comparison for the understanding of the said Tomson, telling him that when a poor man was desirous of asking some favour of the King, or of craving his pardon for some offence, and did not venture to do so personally, he was wont to address himself to some favourite courtier of the King, to the end that the said courtier might act as intermediary, and that, in like manner, the prayers are offered up to the saints so that they may intercede with God for us sinners. To this Tomson replied that, for that very purpose, the King was accustomed to station himself at a window while Mass was being said, so that sinners might appeal and pray to Him direct and not through the saints, for saying which the said Tomson was admonished by the High Constable. That when the said Tomson and the said Borges went out to get their own dinner they again discussed the subject, Tomson re-affirming what he had said at table before the witness and the High Constable and the others present, whereupon the

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witness interposed to stop further talk on the matter. For the foregoing reasons the witness does not consider Robert Tomson to be a true Christian. That the foregoing is the truth and is what he knows of the matter, and he affirms and ratifies same on its being read over to him, not signing on account of being unable to read and write.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN GOMEZ.

Notary.

II

ROBERT TOMSON BEFORE THE JUDGE PROVISOIR.

In the City of Mexico, of New Spain, on this twelfth day of 12th. Sept. 1559. the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and fifty nine, the Very Magnificent and Very Reverend Seigneur, Doctor Luis de Anguis, official Judge Provisor and Vicar-General of this Archbishopric of Mexico, being present in the archiepiscopal prison of the city, caused to be brought before him Robert Tomson, a prisoner therein, to the end that he might be sworn in due legal form by Our Lord and Saint Mary, and by the Sign of the Cross as to what he might know or be asked, and having been sworn as aforesaid, the Judge Provisor addressed to him the following questions:

Asked his name, age, country and trade, and the names of his parents, he replied that he is called Robert Tomson and that his age is twenty-five years, more or less; that he is a native of the Kingdom of England, coming from a town called Andover, ³ and the son of Edward (Duarte) Tomson and of Tanar his wife, natives of the said town, he himself being by calling a merchant.

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Asked whether he has been baptised, and if so, where, and whether there are churches in the said town of which he is a native, he said that he had been baptised, and that there are five or six churches in that town, in one of which he was baptised.

Asked in regard to his parents, whether they had any strain of Jews or Moors or converts, or of any other sect condemned by the Church, and whether his parents or any of their relations had been condemned by the Holy Inquisition, for some heresy which they might have pronounced, he said that he was not aware that his parents had had anything to do with the sects mentioned in the enquiry, nor had he ever heard of such a thing.

Asked how long it was since he had left his native land, and where he had been and with whom, and whether he had been in the land of Germany or in any other places where there were Lutherans, or where the Lutheran doctrine was preached, he said that it might be five years more or less since he left his own country, that he has never been in Germany, and that in the said Kingdom of England, before our Sovereign Lord and King, Don Felipe, went there, the Lutheran doctrine was preached by many preachers all over the land, according to what he had heard when he was in France, where he had been sent to trade and learn the language by his master, an Englishman of the name of John Faber, who had told him that he had heard the Lutheran doctrine preached. As he had already declared, some five years ago he left his native country and went to Portugal; he stayed there four months, proceeding thence to Seville, where he lived two years and a half, more or less, from which place he went to the Canary Islands, and thence to the Spanish island of Santo Domingo, whence he came to this city, where he has lived fourteen or fifteen months, more or less, three months in the Hospital of Our Lady, ⁴ and the rest of the time in the house of Gonzalo Cerezo, High Constable of the Court.

Asked if in conversation with any persons he had uttered

any words against our Holy Catholic Faith, he replied cunningly that he did not recollect having said or done anything against the said Faith, and that if he had made any such remarks it would be because he was not in his proper senses at the time. In this connection he was asked if on Thursday, the 31st. of August, when serving dinner at the table of the High Constable of the Court, in a discussion on the devotions and prayers to the saints, he had said that they were of wood and stone, he himself being able to make them of those materials and paint, and that, in consequence, it was not necessary to offer up prayers to them; if the High Constable had answered that the saints who were so depicted on canvas and in wood were those who were in Heaven, their images being set up for the purpose of commemorating them, and that prayers were not made to those here but to those in Heaven; and if he had replied that not even to those in Heaven should prayers be made, but only to God, who stood with open arms in Heaven; he said it was true he had remarked that the saints in the churches were made of stone and wood and that, in consequence, prayers should not be offered up to them. As regards the saints in Heaven, he does not recollect having replied to the High Constable that not even to those in Heaven should prayers be made, but only to God, who stood with open arms in Heaven, and that if he said so, he was not in his sober senses at the time. Asked whether it was true that he had said to the High Constable that there was no need of intercessors with God, because He was present every day with open arms when the priest was saying Mass, and that there sinners could approach him direct, without the necessity of praying to the saints for their intercession, he said that he did not recollect having said such a thing, and on being asked whether he, the witness, had previously discussed the matters covered by the interrogatory with other persons, he said that he had no remembrance of having done so. Asked whether it is good that we sinners should

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

seek the intercession of the saints in Heaven with God so that we may be the better heard, he said that he held it as good that the saints should be our intercessors with God, and that he was aware that a contrary opinion is condemned by the Holy Mother Church, and that all that the Church believes and upholds, he likewise believes and upholds. Asked how long it is since he confessed, he said that during the time he has been in this country he has confessed and communicated four times, once in the Monastery of Santo Domingo and the other three times in the Hospital of Our Lady (*Ospital de Nuestra Señora*) to the chaplain.

Asked whether the Sacrament of Penitence and Confession is one of the Sacraments which the Church has instituted and is necessary for the health and salvation of the soul, he replied, yes, that he so holds and believes. Asked how long it is since he has heard Mass from beginning to end, he said that most days when he was able he was accustomed to hear the Mass through. Asked whether he heard Mass through on Sundays and feast days, in accordance with the precepts of the Church, our Holy Mother, which must be observed under penalty of mortal sin, he said that he believed in and had kept those precepts.

Asked whether he is married or a single man, he replied that he is a bachelor, and that he has never been married.

Asked what property he has and where situated, he replied that he had no other property than the clothes he wears and the bed in which he sleeps, he possessing nothing else. Asked if he owes any sums of money, and, if so, to whom, he said that the High Constable owes him a matter of twenty or thirty pesos for his services, out of which he has to pay a part which he owes to another person, and that no other person owes him money; and that the foregoing is the truth, the which he affirms by the oath which he has taken, and that if in any thing he has erred, he asks pardon of Our Lord and clemency of the Judge Provisor,

AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON

and submits himself to the correction which our Holy Mother Church may impose. The above being read over to him, he ratified it and signed it with his name.

(Signed) ROBERT TOMSON.

(Signed) THE DOCTOR ANGUIS.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

III

LETTER FROM ROBERT TOMSON TO THE JUDGE
PROVISOR

In Mexico, this nineteenth day of September, fifteen hundred 19th. Sept. 1559.
and fifty nine, to the Doctor Anguis was presented the following
petition:

Very Magnificent and Very Reverend Seigneur:

I, Robert Tomson, prisoner in this archiepiscopal prison, beg to state that for many days I have been confined in this jail and suffer great privations, as I have nobody to give me food nor the wherewithal to procure it, nor the means wherewith to engage a procurator or lawyer to conduct my defence, for which reason I respectfully beg and request your Worship to hear and decide my case as quickly as possible, requesting justice and clemency from the Very Magnificent and Very Reverend office which you hold.

(Signed) ROBERT TOMSON.

And the same being presented to and seen by the said Judge Provisor, he directed that the proceedings in this case should be

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transmitted to the Fiscal, Pedro de Vega, with instructions to present the accusation at the first Audience.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

Whereupon I, the undersigned Notary, in accordance with the precepts of the law, notified the petition and ruling above set forth to the said Pedro de Vega, Fiscal, who replied that he heard and accepted it. Witness, Juan de Ybarreta.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN GOMEZ.

Notary.

IV.

ROBERT TOMSON RECALLED.

25th, Sept. 1559.

In the City of Mexico, of New Spain, this twentyfifth day of the month of September, fifteen hundred and fifty nine, the Very Magnificent and Very Reverend Seigneur, the Doctor Luis de Anguis, Judge Provisor, Fiscal, and Vicar General of this Archbishopric of Mexico, etc., being in the archiepiscopal prison of this City, called before him Robert Tomson, a prisoner therein, and the latter having been sworn in proper legal form by Our Lord God and Saint Mary, and by the Sign of the Cross, which he made with the fingers of his hands, and in virtue of which he promised to tell the truth of what he might know and be asked, he was questioned as follows:

Asked his name and age, he replied that he is called Robert Tomson, and is twenty five years of age, more or less; and that he has already made a statement and confession before the Judge Provisor and the undersigned Juan de Ybarreta, Notary, on the

12th. of the present month and year, which statement he asked might be shown and read to him, which was done by me, the said Notary. In regard to the sixth question which was addressed to him (viz. as to whether on Thursday the 31st. of August, when serving dinner at the table of the High Constable of the Court, in a discussion on the prayers and devotions to the saints, he had said that the saints were of stone and wood, that he himself could make and paint them as he might wish, there being therefore no necessity to offer up prayers to them, and that the High Constable had replied that the saints so painted on wood represented those who were in Heaven, their images being set up to commemorate them, the prayers not being addressed to those here but to those in Heaven, to which the witness had replied that not even to those in Heaven was it well to offer up prayers, but only to God, who stood with open arms in Heaven), he said that he had searched his memory, and with a better recollection than when his confession was taken down, which was done so suddenly that he did not appreciate what he was saying, he would explain that it is true that all that is embodied in the said enquiry passed between him and the said High Constable and other persons present, but that he had not made the remarks with any bad intention nor because he thought thus, but merely the better to understand the comparison which had been brought up, which was why he had said that Our Lord stands with open arms every day at the hour when the priest is saying Mass, and seeing that He was personally present, it was unnecessary to have the saints as intercessors. And that this he had said in reply to the comparison which the said High Constable had made, that when a poor man wished to ask pardon or some favour of the King, it was well that someone out of compassion should intercede and plead for the suppliant, because it appeared to the witness that such a comparison was very inadequate. In doing this he had made use of an argument which he had heard employed in

a town in France, in a d
 professor from Paris, on the
 Holy Faith, but in so doin
 holds as certain that prayers
 in order that they may inte
 intention than to bring out th
 be the better understood, be
 holding what our Holy Mothe
 asserting that there was no n
 God was always present, he ac
 wrongly, and he retracted
 submits himself to the correc

Asked whether it was wel
 saints in the churches and in
 well that there should be ima
 in commemoration of the sain

Asked as to what he had
 as being of wood and paint a
 himself, he said that it is t
 images were of wood and pa
 said this because a certain Bo
 why they had burnt the saints
 whereupon the witness had re
 were set up in the churches w
 had not the power to burn d
 not heard that in his countr
 of the churches and burnt the
 above he had erred, he retra
 ignorance.

Asked with whom he ha
 matters embodied in the ab
 images, etc., he replied that h
 them further than as he has s

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

e, in a discussion between a student and a
is, on these and other matters relating to our
n so doing he, the witness, who believes and
at prayers should be offered up to the saints,
may intercede with Our Lord, had no other
ring out the comparison in order that it might
rstood, being a Christian, and believing and
Holy Mother Church believes and holds, and in
e was no necessity to pray to the saints because
esent, he acknowledged having erred and spoken
retracted same and asked mercy of God, and
the correction of our Holy Mother Church.

it was well that there should be images of the
nes and in other parts, he replied that it was
uld be images in the churches and other places
of the saints in Heaven.

at he had said in disparagement of the images,
nd paint and stone, which he could reproduce
at it is true that he had said that the said
od and paint and stone, etc., and that he had
certain Borges had enquired of him maliciously
t the saints in the churches of his native land,
ess had replied that the saints whose images
hurches were in Heaven, where human beings
to burn or ill treat them, and that he had
his country they had taken the images out
d burnt them. And that if in anything of the
, he retracted same, as having been made in

nom he has communicated and discussed the
in the above enquiries as to the saints and
lied that he does not recollect having discussed
s he has said.

10ma p[ar]te de sept[em]bre
muy m[ay]or
muy do[cto]

Roberto Tomson preso en esta carcel
digo q[uo] amiguo d[ice] q[uo] estoy en
carcel y padesco mucha necesidad
no tengo quien me de de comer
d[ice] q[uo] con q[uo] d[ice] q[uo] a su o[ra]da
que p[od]e mi gano mi negocio /

A V. m. d[ice] q[uo] a la m[ay]or m[ay]or
m[ay]or de dar la cab[er]a de m[ay]or prision
cedad lo de a[un]te m[ay]or y p[od]o m[ay]or
m[ay]or de a[un]te m[ay]or y p[od]o m[ay]or
muy f[el]iz e[st]e de a[un]te m[ay]or y p[od]o m[ay]or

Roberto
Tomson

Representa d[ice] q[uo] a la m[ay]or m[ay]or
digo q[uo] a la m[ay]or m[ay]or y p[od]o m[ay]or
a la m[ay]or m[ay]or y p[od]o m[ay]or
a la m[ay]or m[ay]or y p[od]o m[ay]or

Despues m[ay]or m[ay]or y p[od]o m[ay]or
a la m[ay]or m[ay]or y p[od]o m[ay]or
a la m[ay]or m[ay]or y p[od]o m[ay]or
a la m[ay]or m[ay]or y p[od]o m[ay]or



Asked if he is acquainted with the Christian doctrine and the prayers of the Church, the Ave Maria, Pater Noster, Credo and Salve Regina, and the Articles and Commandments, he replied that he knows them in the English language, he being an Englishman.

Asked if he knows how to read and in what languages, and what books he brought from his country when he came to these parts, and what books he has now in his possession, he replied that he knows how to read and write fairly well in the English and French tongues and Castilian, and that he did not bring any books from abroad, nor has he any books with the exception of some "Hours of Our Lord", which he has in his box in the house of the High Constable.

Asked what countrymen of his own, or Germans, he knows in this city and in New Spain, he replied that he did not and does not know in this city or in New Spain any persons of his own country or of Germany, with the exception of a man living in this town, in the house of Don García de Albornoz, Factor of His Majesty, of the name of Rafael Sea (Sarre), ⁵ who is from England, and that from Germany he is acquainted with a man who is making the tomb in San Francisco, ⁶ because he and the witness came out together from the Canary Islands. This man is called Bartomé; his surname he does not know.

The Judge Provisor thereupon proceeded to admonish the said Robert Tomson, telling him he should search his conscience and frankly say whether everything which he has declared is true, because all that is desired is to know the truth, and that if there is any other thing which he has said or done contrary to our Catholic Faith, then let him say and confess it, so that they may extend to him the fullest clemency. In reply Robert Tomson said that what he has set forth is the truth, and that nothing further passed than what he has declared, nor has he said or done any other thing of this nature in his life, and that, as he has already

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 octo centis et octo.

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said in his confessions, if he has erred and so offended Our Lord God, he asks that he may be dealt with mercifully, he being ready to fulfil the salutary penance which may be imposed on him for same; that what he has stated is the truth, by the oath which he has sworn. On the foregoing being read over to him, he ratified and signed it with his name. .

(Signed) THE DOCTOR ANGUIS.

(Signed) ROBERT TOMSON.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

The Judge Provisor then said to Robert Tomson that if he wished a lawyer to assist him in the matter he should say so, in which case he would be provided with one gratuitously in view of his poverty. The said Robert Tomson replied that the Judge would confer a boon and a blessing on him by assigning him a lawyer, and also a procurator, and he asked that the procurator might be one of the Royal Audiencia, and the lawyer whomsoever the Judge might select, whereupon the said Judge Provisor assigned to him as lawyer and advocate the Doctor Sedeño, and as Procurator, Vicente de Riverol, and the said Robert Tomson affixed his signature hereto.

(Signed) ROBERT TOMSON.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

V

ACCUSATION AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON BY THE FISCAL, PEDRO DE VEGA

Very Magnificent and Very Powerful Seigneur:

I, Pedro de Vega, Fiscal Constable, (*alguacil fiscal*) of this

Archbishopric of Mexico, accuse criminally the foreigner Robert Tomson, native of the Kingdom of England, prisoner in the archiepiscopal prison, in due legal form, as follows.

Whereas the said Tomson, laying aside the fear of the Lord, and in contravention of His holy law and evangelical precepts and what is ordained and ordered by the canons of the Holy Church and the laws and institutions of these Kingdoms, and thereby setting a bad example in this Christian community, being in service in the house of Gonzalo Cerezo, High Constable of this Court, in conversation with Manuel Borges and other persons, and in the presence of the said High Constable, on the subject of the offering up of prayers to the saints, said that these were of stone and wood and paint, and that if he cared to do so he could make them himself, and that prayers should not be made to the saints, nor was there reason to do so. The said Gonzalo Cerezo admonished him and told him that he should not say such a thing, because the saints who were so depicted represented those who were in Heaven, their images being set up to commemorate them in the Holy Church, and the prayers were offered up to those who were in Heaven in their character of intercessors with Our Lord. The said Tomson, maintaining and sustaining his heretical opinions, repeated several times that even to the saints in Heaven prayers should not be offered up, following, in so saying, the heretical dogma which the Lutherans preach and teach, and opposing what is ordained and ordered by the Holy Church in the sacred canons and councils, as is proved by the evidence of the witnesses in these proceedings and by the confession of Robert Tomson himself. The accused admits that in his native land he has heard preached the aforesaid Lutheran heresy against what is held and taught by the Holy Catholic faith, and that he holds the same belief. And whereas on a number of occasions since his arrival in these parts from his native land he has spoken against the Sacrament of Confession as held and

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taught by the Holy Church, to the prejudice of our faith in the divine goodness, his words and deeds showing the influence which his sect and evil belief has had over him, and the same tending to deprive Our Lord and His saints of what the power of God has granted to them, by removing from His presence and sanctuary the images and representations of Our Lord and His saints, the accused having been for a considerable time plunged in these errors against our Holy Catholic Church, as is shown by the fact that, although he has been in public places where his mode of life and behaviour were observed by all, he is not accustomed to make the Sign of the Cross or to bless himself, or to hear Mass, or to offer up public or private prayers, or to go to Confession, as admonished and ordered by our Holy Church. And whereas in all this the aforesaid Tomson has committed grave and atrocious offences, now, therefore, I ask Your Worship to order that the said Tomson be condemned to the greatest and heaviest penalties provided by the laws and constitutions, by-laws and ordinances, the same to be enforced against his person and properties, the sequestration and embargo of these last to be enforced against him as a foreigner and suspected person. And in view of what he has said in the matters of our Holy Faith and the serious character of his offense, I appeal to Your Worship to see that strict justice is done in this case, protesting by Our Lord and by this Cross that I do not do so out of malice.

(Signed) PEDRO DE VEGA.

And the foregoing being presented to and seen by the aforesaid Judge Provisor, he directed that same should be communicated to the said Robert Tomson and answered by him for the next Audience.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

20th. Sept. 1559.

And in continuation, in the City of Mexico this 20th. day of September of the same year, I, the said Juan de Ybarreta, Notary,

AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON

read over and notified the foregoing accusation, as presented to the Judge Provisor, by the party of the other part, to the said Robert Tomson in person, who says that he confirms what he has already declared in his confession and denies all the rest of what is charged against him, because nothing further passed than what he has mentioned in his confession.

Witnesses, Pedro Troncoso and Juan Gomez.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

Whereupon the said Pedro de Vega, Fiscal, said that he re-affirmed what he had already stated and alleged, rejecting the statements of the other party. Witnesses, the above-mentioned.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

Notary.

And forthwith and thereupon the said Robert Tomson declared that if he had said anything against our Holy Catholic faith and against the saints, he had done so in ignorance and knowing no better, wherefore he asks clemency and submits to the correction which our Holy Mother Church may impose as a salutary penance, signing his name hereto.

Witnesses, the above-mentioned.

(Signed) ROBERT TOMSON.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

And in continuation, in the City of Mexico on the 23rd. 23rd. Sept. 1559.
day of the month of September of the said year, the Judge Provisor said that he declared the above proceedings to be concluded.

Witnesses, the above mentioned.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

In view of the foregoing I order both parties to present the proofs of their allegations *salvo jure in pertinentium et non admiten-*

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dorum within the term of nine days immediately following the day of the notification of this decision, and to be present at the swearing and the taking of the testimony of the witnesses which the one party may present against the other, and the latter against the former, with the warning that the case will be taken up with the presence of whichever party may appear.

Given under my hand.

(Signed) THE DOCTOR ANGUIS.

23rd. Sept. 1559.

The above decision, as given and pronounced by the said Judge Provisor on the 23rd. day of the month of September, fifteen hundred and fifty nine, has been transmitted to Pedro de Vega, Fiscal, to whom I, Juan de Ybarreta, Notary, notify it.

Witnesses, Francisco Gonzalez and Jerónimo de Torres.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

10th. Oct. 1559.

And in continuation, in the said City of Mexico, on the 10th. day of the month of October, of the said year, I, the undersigned Notary, read over and notified the foregoing to Vicencio de Riverol, who has been appointed procurator of the said Tomson to aid him gratuitously on account of his poverty, and who replied that he had heard, and signed.

(Signed) V. RIVEROL.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN GOMEZ.

Notary.

10th. Oct. 1559

And in continuation, in the said City of Mexico, this 10th. day of October of the same year, I, the said Juan de Ybarreta, Notary, notify the foregoing decision to the said Robert Tomson, who replied that he heard it.

Witnesses, Jerónimo de Torres and Juan Perez.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

VI

APPLICATION BY THE FISCAL FOR THE TRIAL TO
BE ADJOURNED

Very Magnificent and Very Powerful Seigneur:

I, Pedro de Vega, Fiscal Constable of this Archbishopric, in the criminal process which I am conducting against Robert Tomson, humbly beg to state that: whereas within the term which has been granted to me to produce my witnesses before you, I am unable to do so owing to the absence of the High Constable, Gonzalo Cerezo, and one of his servants, I now beg and request you to order the extension of the said term for a further ten days, or until the return of the said High Constable.

(Signed) PEDRO DE VEGA.

And the same being presented to and seen by the Judge Provisor, he said that he granted and conceded the extension which is requested, authorizing the petition, which he initialed.

Transmitted to the said Fiscal, to whom it was duly notified,
Witness, Juan de Lucas Delgado.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

And in continuation, in the said City of Mexico, this 11th 11th. Oct. 1559. day of October of the said year, I, the said Juan de Ybarreta, Notary, notified the foregoing adjournment to the said Robert Tomson in person, who replied that he heard it.

Witnesses, Jerónimo de Torres and Pedro Ortiz.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

VII

APPOINTMENT OF LAWYER AND PROCURATOR FOR
THE POOR

16th. Oct. 1559.

In the City of Mexico, of New Spain, on the 16th. day of the month of October, fifteen hundred and fifty nine, the Very Illustrious and Very Reverend Friar, Alonso de Montufar, ⁷ Archbishop of this Archbishopric of Mexico, member of the Council of His Majesty, etc., stated that he named and names as lawyer and procurator of poor Spaniards and Indians, men and women, who may be prisoners in the archiepiscopal prison of the said Archbishopric, and who from now on may come to seek justice at his court, the Licentiate Cavellos, advocate of the Royal Audiencia and resident of this City, and Juan de Salazar, Procurator of the Royal Audiencia, with all the necessary legal powers, and that he assigned and assigns to them the following annual salary: to the said Licentiate Cavellos, thirty pesos of common gold (oro comun), and to the said Juan de Salazar, twenty pesos, the same to be given and paid as remuneration for their labour, the said appointments to run from this date until the expiration of the coming year of '60. Date as above.

(Signed) FRAY ALONSO.

Archbishop of Mexico.

Passed before me,

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

Apostolic Notary Public.

Checked with the original.

(Signed) JUAN GOMEZ,

Notary.

AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON

Very Powerful and Very Magnificent Seigneur:

I, Juan de Salazar, on behalf of and as defender of the prisoner Robert Tomson, who is accused by the Fiscal of this Archbishopric, beg to state that the accusation has been formulated against my client and the text of the summary proceedings communicated to me, and it being necessary, in order to conduct his defence, that my lawyer and I should see and speak with him, I humbly request your Worship to fix a day and hour for the interview, to the end that, on the date which you may specify, I may attend with my lawyer.

(Signed) JUAN DE SALAZAR.

And the foregoing being presented to and seen by the Judge Provisor, he said that he ordered and orders the Fiscal Constable of this Archbishopric that at any time the lawyer and Juan de Salazar, the Procurator of the poor, might desire to speak to the said Robert Tomson, he should give them admission.

Transmitted to the aforesaid Fiscal, who was duly notified.

Witnesses, Juan Gomez and Pedro Gomez.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

VIII

ROBERT TOMSON BEFORE THE JUDGE PROVISOR

And in continuation, in the City of Mexico this 28th. day of 28th. Oct. 1559. the month of October 1559, the said Judge Provisor being in one of the towers of the prison of his reverence the Archbishop, wherein is confined the said Robert Tomson, caused the latter to

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be brought before him, to the end that he might be sworn in due legal form by Our Lord and Saint Mary, and on the Sign of the Cross, to tell the truth of what he might know and might be asked. He having so sworn, the Judge Provisor addressed to him the following questions:

Asked with what persons he had spoken and conversed in regard to matters connected with our Holy Faith, to wit, that Our Lord had neither right hand nor left hand, he said that it is true that he had said that God had neither right hand nor left hand, and that, as far as he recollects, the words in question were addressed to a priest who came with Pedro de Vega, the Fiscal, and Balthasar de Castro, the remark he made being that Our Lord for the wicked had not a right hand nor for the good a left hand.

Asked why he should have believed and stated to other persons that God did not have a right hand nor a left hand, he explained that in saying this he had in mind the Day of Judgment, when the good will be on the right hand of Our Lord and the wicked on His left, and that if in so saying he has erred in any way, he submits himself to our Holy Mother Church, and asks of her a salutary penance; and that the foregoing is the truth, by the oath which he has taken, in witness whereof he subscribes his name.

(Signed) THE DOCTOR ANGUIS.

(Signed) ROBERT TOMSON.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

IX

APPLICATIONS FOR TRIAL OF ROBERT TOMSON TO BE
FURTHER ADJOURNED

Very Reverend and Very Magnificent Seigneur:

I, Cristobal de Toledo, Fiscal Constable of this Archbishopric of Mexico, in the criminal proceedings which I am conducting against Robert Tomson, represented by Juan de Salazar, beg to state that, on account of the brevity of the term allowed for the production of evidence, I have been unable to submit the proofs of the Fiscal, and have further been unable to have the witnesses in the summary investigation ratify their testimony, and it being advisable that this should be done, I venture to request Your Worship to order that I be allowed a fourth term of thirty days wherein to present my evidence and to ratify the testimony of the witnesses above mentioned, taking oath before God and by the Sign of the Cross that I do not ask this out of malice.

(Signed) CRISTOBAL DE TOLEDO.

And the foregoing being presented to and seen by the Judge Provisor, he said that he conceded and concedes a further term of ten days common to both parties, the notice to be transmitted to the said Cristobal de Toledo, Fiscal, as has been done by me, the undersigned Notary, Juan de Ybarreta.

Witnesses, Esteban de Salazar and Jerónimo de Torres.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

And in continuation, in the City of Mexico this 20th. day of 20th. Nov. 1559. the said month of November of the said year, I, the undersigned Notary, read and notified the petition and decision aforesaid to

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Juan de Salazar, Procurator of the said Robert Tomson, who replied that he heard it.

Witnesses, Juan Gomez and Bruno Osario.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

Very Magnificent and Very Reverend Seigneur:

I, Cristobal de Toledo, Fiscal in the criminal proceedings against Robert Tomson, beg to state: That during the further term of ten days which has been granted to me, I have not been able to present my proofs nor ratify the testimony of my witnesses, and I therefore ask and request that Your Worship grant me an additional term of ten days within which to present such proofs, and I swear before God and by the Sign of the Cross that I do not ask this out of malice, but as a matter of right and justice.

(Signed) CRISTOBAL DE TOLEDO.

And the foregoing being presented to and seen by the said Judge, he said that he conceded and concedes to the said Fiscal the additional term of ten days which he requests, common to the two parties. The same to be transmitted to the said Fiscal, to whom I notify it.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

28th. Nov. 1559.

And in continuation, in the City of Mexico this 28th. day of the said month of November of the same year, I, Juan Gomez, Notary, read over and notified the petition and grant of adjournment aforesaid personally to Juan de Salazar, procurator of the aforesaid Robert Tomson, who replied that he heard it.

Witnesses, Blas de Morales and Bruno Osario.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN GOMEZ.

Notary.

Very Reverend and Very Magnificent Seigneur:

I, Cristobal de Toledo, Fiscal in the criminal proceedings against Robert Tomson, beg to state that in the time for the

AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON

production of evidence which has been granted me, I have been unable to submit same owing to the absence of the necessary witnesses. I therefore ask and request Your Worship to grant me a further term of ten days, and I swear before God and by the Sign of the Cross that I do not ask this out of malice, but as a matter of right and justice.

(Signed) CRISTOBAL DE TOLEDO.

And the foregoing being presented to and seen by the said Judge Provisor, he said that he conceded and concedes to the said Fiscal a further term of ten days common to the two parties.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

And in continuation, in the said City of Mexico this 12th. 12th. Dec. 1559. day of the month of December, fifteen hundred and fifty nine, I, Juan Gomez, Notary, read and notified the petition and grant of adjournment above quoted to Juan de Salazar, Procurator of the aforesaid Robert Tomson, who said that he heard it.

Witnesses, Juan de Ybarreta and Francisco Ramirez.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN GOMEZ

Notary.

X

QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED AT THE EXAMINATION OF
WITNESSES

Questions to be put to the witnesses who are, or have been, questioned on behalf of the undersigned, Pedro de Vega, Fiscal Constable of this Archbishopric of Mexico, in the criminal proceedings which he is prosecuting against Robert Tomson, a prisoner in the jail of this City.

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First, let them be asked whether they are acquainted with the undersigned Pedro de Vega and with the said Robert Tomson, a prisoner in the Archiepiscopal jail.

Further, if they know, believe, have seen or heard say that on a certain day of the month of August of the present year, at table in the house of the High Constable, Gonzalo Cerezo, the said Robert Tomson, while serving dinner, there being present the said High Constable and his wife and a number of other persons, made certain remarks about the prayers, to wit, that the images were of stone or wood or painted canvas and that he could make them himself, and that prayers should not be offered up to them, and not even to the saints in Heaven.

Further, whether (on being rebuked for the above and contradicted and told that he should not say such things, because the saints who were so depicted represented those who were in Heaven, and the better to keep them in mind their images are set up and painted in the churches, the prayers being offered up to those who are in Heaven so that they may intercede with Our Lord God, etc.), the said Robert Tomson did repeat and reiterate what he had said before, maintaining his heretical opinion and insisting that even to the saints in Heaven prayers should not be said.

Further, whether, they know that the said Tomson is of the Lutheran persuasion and an adherent of what that sect preaches and teaches, contrary to what is instituted and ordered by our Holy Catholic Church and the Holy Canons and Councils set up by the Catholic Church.

Further, whether they know that for the said reason the said Robert Tomson belongs to the Lutheran sect, and also if they have noticed that he contemns and despises the images, not holding them in any esteem; and that for the same reason he has neither heard nor does he hear the Divine Offices, as is his obligation, or confess or communicate, nor does he understand the

AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON

Christian doctrine, nor how to make the Sign of the Cross or to recite the ordinary prayers.

Further, whether they know that, over and above the foregoing, the said Robert Tomson comes from England, where the people, for the most part, are Lutherans, and where schism and heresy are publicly preached, from which it can be held as very certain that Tomson himself is of that persuasion.

Further, whether they know that the foregoing has occasioned and continues to occasion very notable scandal and bad example in this New Spain, and that the experience which has been obtained in other parts demonstrates that very great disquiet and disservice to the Lord result when such offences are not chastised with the utmost rigour.

(Signed) PEDRO DE VEGA.

And the above being presented to and seen by the said Judge Provisor, he said that he holds it as presented in so far as is pertinent, and that as he is occupied in matters relating to the service of the Lord, he commended and commends the swearing and examination of the witnesses who may be presented on behalf of the aforesaid Fiscal, to the undersigned Juan de Ybarreta and to Juan Gomez, Notary, on whom jointly and separately he confers the necessary powers.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

XI

APPOINTMENT OF ASSISTANT JUDGES

In the City of Mexico, of New Spain, this 14th. day of the 14th. Dec. 1559.
month of December, fifteen hundred and fifty nine, the Very

Magnificent and Very Rev
 Judge Provisor and Vica
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 the Very Reverend Fathe
 Preacher of the Order of th
 Illustrious and Very Re
 Montufar, Archbishop of th
 Judge Provisor of the nati
 the end that, in co-operatio
 the swearing and examin
 presented by the Fiscal of
 Bartolomé and Bachelor M
 to swear by Our Lord and b
 received to keep the secrecy

Witnesses, Jerónimo de

Passed

(Sign

20th. Dec. 1559.

And in continuation, in
 day of the month of Decemb
 said Judge Provisor, in the
 Bachelor Marañon, appoint
 purposes of the decision a
 Portillo, ⁹ presbyter, with
 and the said Bachelor Esteb
 by Our Lord and by the Sac
 to keep the secrecy which th

Witnesses, Alonso de C

Passed

(Sign

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

Very Reverend Seigneur, the Doctor Anguis, and Vicar General of this Archbishopric of the appointed and appoints as assistant judges and Fathers, Friar Bartolomé de Ledesma, ⁸ order of the Dominicans, auxiliary of the Very Reverend Seigneur Friar Alonso de Bishop of this diocese, and the Bachelor Marañon, of the native Indians of this Archbishopric, to co-operation with himself, they may preside over the examination of the witnesses who may be Fiscal of this Archbishopsric. The said Friar Bachelor Marañon being present, they proceeded in accord and by the Sacred Orders which they have the secrecy which the case may require. Frónimo de Torres and Juan Lopez.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

uation, in the said City of Mexico on the 20th. of December, fifteen hundred and fifty nine, the or, in the unavoidable absence of the aforesaid n, appointed and appoints in his stead for the decision above-cited the Bachelor Esteban de ter, with the solemnities required by the law, elor Esteban de Portillo being present, he swore by the Sacred Orders with which he is invested which the case may require.

onso de Carbajal and Pedro de Portillo.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

I beleeve in god the father al myghty
 of verty and in Iesu Christo. Iis on
 noyng was conseid by the goligot
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 and ascended in to hel the thurd da
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 in the holy gost the holy catz
 upon of synntz the for gynes
 of the body and the lyfe eternall
 our father our art in genn ga
 thyng done com thy wyl be don
 geuen gye we the day o day li
 our thes as ab me for gye to
 agaynst ob and sufar ob not
 ybel tentacion but dellyner dis
 al ybel amen a Bemaria

Sayt mazi full of grace our lord
 blestid art thou among al myn
 thescent of the belv amen
 salveragina

al virgin motz o god motz of
 thyng thou for ob to thy son orel
 we maye be abel to atayn the pro
 thou art o abogad our sory and o
 amen

Robert
 Tomson

James del susse thea Co
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to geve on a son of lord and in
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Roberto
Jomson
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en col du enna lengua castellan



XII

SUPPLEMENTARY EVIDENCE OF WITNESSES.

(a) EVIDENCE OF MANUEL BORGES

This 14th. day of October. Witnesses, Jerónimo de Torres and 14th. Oct. 1559.
Juan Gomez. The aforesaid Manuel Borges, a resident of this City, was presented by Cristobal de Ortiz, Fiscal, and being duly sworn, was questioned in the tenor of the interrogatory hereinbefore mentioned:

To the first enquiry he replied that he is acquainted with the persons mentioned therein and with each and every one of them, etc. Being asked to describe himself, he said that he is thirty eight years of age, more or less, and that he does not come under any of the exceptions regarding the admissibility of evidence, etc.

To the second enquiry and to the others, he replied that he has already given evidence in the summary investigation before the said Judge Provisor, in the presence of the undersigned Notary, Juan de Ybarreta, and he requested that his testimony, as rendered by him on the 9th. day of the month of September of the present year might be read over and shown to him. On the same being read over word for word, he said that he affirmed and affirms, and ratified and ratifies, the same, and that what he stated on that occasion is the truth and what he knows of the matter, by the oath which he has sworn, in witness whereof he signs his name.

(Signed) MANUEL BORGES.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

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(b) EVIDENCE OF GONZALO CEREZO

14th. Oct. 1559. On the 14th. Before the witnesses, Jerónimo de Torres and Juan Gomez. The aforesaid Gonzalo Cerezo, High Constable of the Court, witness on the part of the aforesaid Fiscal, being duly sworn and questioned according to the tenor of the interrogatory hereinbefore set forth, declared as follows:

To the first enquiry he replied that he is acquainted with the parties in question. Asked to describe himself, he said that he is over fifty years of age, and that he does not come under any of the exceptions regarding the admissibility of evidence.

To the second and following questions, he replied that he had already given evidence in this matter in the summary investigation before the said Judge Provisor, in the presence of the undersigned Juan de Ybarreta, Notary, and he asked that same might be shown and read over to him. On this being done by the undersigned, he said that what he had stated there he re-affirms and ratifies and if necessary repeats, and that what he has so stated is the truth and is what he knows of the matter, by the oath which he has sworn, and he signs same.

(Signed) GONZALO DE CEREZO.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

(c) EVIDENCE OF SEBASTIAN GALLEGO

20th. Dec. 1559. On the 20th. December, Pedro de Portillo, witness. The aforesaid Sebastian Gallego, a witness presented on the part of the aforesaid Fiscal, being duly sworn and questioned according to the tenor of the above interrogatory, stated the following:

To the first question, he replied that he is acquainted with the parties. Being asked to describe himself, he said that he is thirty eight years of age, more or less, and that he does not come

AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON

under any of the legal exceptions regarding the admissibility of evidence.

To the second and following questions, he stated that he has already given evidence in the summary investigation before the said Judge Provisor, in the presence of the undersigned Juan de Ybarreta, Notary, on the 12th. day of the month of September of the present year. He asked that same might be shown and read over to him. This being done by the undersigned, he said that he affirmed and ratified and if necessary repeated it, and that what he stated therein is the truth and what he knows of the matter, by the oath which he has taken, and that he does not sign same on account of being unable to write.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

Notary.

(d) EVIDENCE OF JORGE MANUEL

The same day. Witness, the same. The aforesaid Jorge Manuel 20th. Dec. 1559.
page to the High Constable Cerezo, a witness presented on the part of the Fiscal aforesaid, being duly sworn and questioned in the tenor of the above interrogatory, replied as follows:

To the first enquiry he replied that he is acquainted with the parties. Being asked to describe himself, he said that he is eighteen years of age, more or less, and that he does not come under any of the legal exceptions regarding the admissibility of evidence.

To the second and following questions he replied that he has already testified in this matter in the summary investigation before the said Judge Provisor, in the presence of me the undersigned Notary, Juan de Ybarreta, on the 12th. day of the month of September of the present year, and he requested of me,

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

the undersigned Juan de Ybarreta, Notary, that the same might be shown and read over to him. This being done by the undersigned, he stated that what he had declared therein he affirmed and ratified and if necessary repeated, and that what he had stated is the truth and what he knows of the matter, by the oath which he has sworn, and that he does not sign on account of being unable to write.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

XIII

FISCAL REQUESTS PUBLICATION OF EVIDENCE

22nd. Dec. 1559. On the 22nd. of December 1559, to the Doctor Anguis these presents.

Very Reverend and Very Magnificent Seigneur:

I, Cristobalde Toledo, Fiscal Constable of this Archbishopric, in the criminal proceedings which are pending against Robert Tomson in the matter hereinbefore set forth, in view of the fact that the term for the production of evidence has elapsed, request publication, and beg and request Your Worship to order this to be done, waiving the unexpired portion of said term and declaring said stage of the proceedings to be definitely closed, preliminary to the hearing and decision of the case, the which I ask of Your Worship as a matter of justice and right.

(Signed) CRISTOBAL DE TOLEDO.

8th. Jan. 1560. And the foregoing being presented to and seen by the said Judge Provisor, he said that he ordered and orders said petition

AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON

to be transmitted to the other party and to be brought up at the next Audience.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

And in continuation, in the said City of Mexico this 8th. day 8th. Jan. 1560. of the month of January, fifteen hundred and sixty, I, the said Juan de Ybarreta, personally read and notified the said petition and the ruling of the said Judge Provisor, with the usual formalities, to Juan de Salazar, Procurator of the Poor, who replied that he heard it.

Witnesses, Juan Gomez and Bartolomé de Eguya.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

And in continuation, in the said City of Mexico this 15th. 15th. Jan. 1560. day of the said month and year, before me, the undersigned Notary, appeared Juan de Salazar, on behalf of the said Robert Tomson, and said that he consents and agrees to the said publication being made, in testimony whereof he signs his name.

(Signed) JUAN DE SALAZAR.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN GOMEZ,

Notary.

XIV

PUBLICATION

And in continuation, in the said City of Mexico on the said 15th. Jan. 1560. 15th. day of the said month and year, the Very Magnificent and Very Reverend Seigneur, the Bachelor Alvaro Perez Marañon, official Judge Provisor and Vicar-General in this Archbishopric of Mexico, stated:

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That taking over this suit at the point and as it stands, and in view of the fact that the parties have requested that publication be made, he orders that this shall be done, and that copies of the evidence and proceedings be made and forwarded to the parties to enable them to say and allege whatsoever they may be lawfully entitled to do within the term allowed by law, in testimony whereof he signs his name.

(Signed) THE BACHELOR MARAÑON.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN GOMEZ.

Notary.

16th. Jan. 1560. And in continuation, in the said City of Mexico this 16th. day of the said month and year, I, the said Notary, personally notified the said publication to the said Juan de Salazar, Procurator of the said Robert Tomson, who replied that he heard it.

Witnesses, Benito de la Torre and Licenciado de la Marcha.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN GOMEZ.

Notary.

And in continuation, this same day of the said month and year, I, the said notary, personally notified the said publication, to the said Fiscal, who replied that he heard it.

Witnesses, the above-mentioned.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN GOMEZ.

Notary.

18th. Jan. 1560. In Mexico, on the 18th. of January, fifteen hundred and sixty to the Bachelor Marañon these presents.

Very Reverend and Very Magnificent Seigneur:

I, Juan de Salazar, on behalf of Robert Tomson, in the suit with the Fiscal, in representation of the Holy Office, with reference to the evidence submitted to you by the said Fiscal, beg to rectify

AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON

same in the sense that, although my client has confessed to some part of what he is accused, there is a contradiction in the evidence of the different witnesses, as, all giving testimony to an act which took place on a particular day in the presence of all, one of them, of the name of Jorge gives evidence which is in contradiction to that of the others, this involving a defect and flaw in the said evidence and a failure to prove the offense, no penalty being applicable in consequence. I therefore beg Your Worship to carefully weigh the declarations of said witnesses and those of my client in order to discover the truth, which the last-named freely confesses.

(Signed) LICENCIADO CAVELLOS.

And the foregoing having been presented to and seen by the said Judge Provisor, he said that he orders and commands that the same be transmitted to the other party to be answered at the next Audience.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN GOMEZ.

Notary.

And in continuation, in the said City of Mexico this 19th. day 19th. Jan. 1560. of the said month of January, of the said year, I, the said Notary, personally notified the said petition and decision to the other party, to wit, Cristobal de Toledo, Fiscal, who replied that he heard it.

Witnesses, Martin de Arana and Blas de Morales.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN GOMEZ.

Notary.

In Mexico, on the 22nd. of January of the year fifteen hundred 22nd. Jan. 1560. and sixty, to the Doctor Anguis, these presents.

Very Magnificent and Very Reverend Seigneur:

I, Cristobal de Toledo, Fiscal of this Archbishopric, in the criminal proceedings which I am pursuing against Robert Tomson,

Englishman, for the offenses that, notwithstanding what is said on behalf of the said Tomson present month and year, you take into account the aspersions of the witnesses in these proceedings have told the truth in their sworn contradictions as is alleged ground for further steps in should so request, and if any of the offense shall be borne in Your Worship to declare the case definitely closed and that the case in accordance with law and prosecution.

(Signed)

And the foregoing being presented Judge Provisor, he declared the case definitely closed, and assigned for the hearing of the case consisting of three holidays, provided by the law, and any further steps which might be transmitted to the aforesaid Juan de Salazar, who were named and who acknowledged being so called.

Witnesses, Blas de Moral

(Signed)

Passed before

(Signed)

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

the offenses of which he stands accused, request what is stated and alleged by Juan de Salazar and Tomson, in a petition dated the 18th. of the year, you will act on my petition, not taking into consideration the objections of the other side against the evidence in these proceedings, as it is manifest that they are true in their sworn declarations, without any such objection being alleged by the other side, there being no further steps in the case unless the opposite party should so require, and if any may become necessary, the character of the case should be borne in mind. I therefore ask and request that you should declare that the summary proceedings are complete, and that the case will now be heard and decided, according to law and justice, and with costs for the

(Signed) CRISTOBAL DE TOLEDO.

being presented to and seen by the said parties, who have declared the summary proceedings to be complete, and assigned to the parties a term for the trial, the term consisting of the number of days, not being less than that required by the law, and reserving the right to take such further steps as might prove to be necessary. The same to be done by the aforesaid Cristobal de Toledo, Fiscal, and the parties, who were notified and cited in due form, and who have been so cited.

de Morales and Juan Gomez.

(Signed) THE DOCTOR ANGUIS.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

U
 cico en ^{padre} ~~nos~~ ^{to} poderoso creador del cielo & de
 su unico ^{hijo} que fue con sebio del & spiritu
 santa maria padecio su poncio pilato fue
 do desiendo a los infiernos & saco los santos
 sito de los muertos & a sendio al cielo a la
 sende veridaz a juzgar los vivos & los m
 santo & en la santa yglesia & ~~en~~ la catol
 de los santos por virtud de los sacramentos
 ucion de los carne la remicion de los pecc
 pater noster

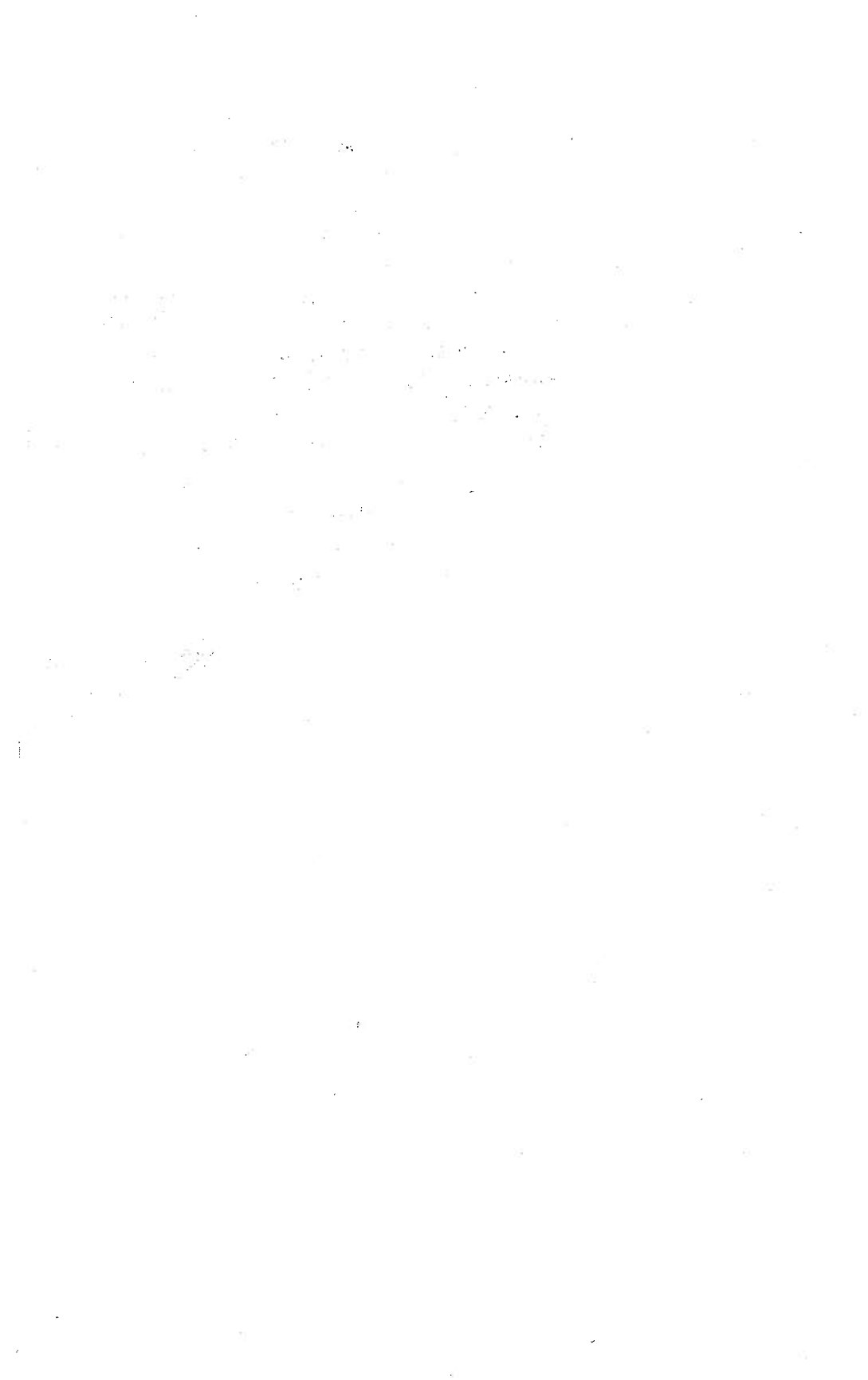
No
 nro padre que esta en los cielos santifi
 tu reyno nos a viene tu voluntad
 como en el cielo sanos y nro pan coted
 pacados como perdonamas a los que nos
 dexen entrar en tentacion mas grande n

Ave maria

Ave maria llena de gracia nro señor
 Dita sobre ^{todas} las mugere & bendita es la
 su santa maria madre de dios ruega
 Amen

Salve gma

Dios te salve virgin & madre de dios se
 nro ruega por nos otros a tu precioso hijo
 virgin a ti clamanos a ti rozamos a supl
 nros de eva ruega tu psequoso ^{hijo}
 promisiones de cristo a men



XV

FURTHER EXAMINATION OF ROBERT TOMSON

In the said City of Mexico, this 9th. day of month of March, 9th. March 1560. fifteen hundred and sixty, the Very Magnificent and Very Reverend Seigneur, the Doctor Luis de Anguis, accompanied by the Very Reverend Fathers Friar Bartolomé de Ledesma and Friar Franco de Espinosa, of the Order of Dominicans, being in the archiepiscopal prison of the City, called before them Robert Tomson, a prisoner therein, who being sworn in due legal form, by Our Lord and Saint Mary, and on the Sign of the Cross, to tell the truth of what he might know and what might be asked of him, was questioned by the Judge Provisor *ex officio*, and without prejudice, in the following manner.

Asked his name and age, he replied that he was called Robert Tomson and was twenty five years of age, more or less. Asked whether he knows the prayers of the Church, which are the *Pater Noster*, *Credo*, *Salve Regina* and *Ave Maria*, he replied that he does know them; whereupon the said Judge Provisor ordered him to recite them in Latin, or in Castilian Romance, as he speaks the last named language. To this Tomson answered that he knows the said prayers in his own language, English, and in French, but that he is not familiar with them in Latin or Castilian Romance. Asked if he knows how to write in Castilian Romance, he replied in the affirmative. Asked why, being able to write in Castilian Romance, he does not know the prayers in that language, or in Latin, he said that when he prays he is accustomed to do so in his own language, and he has never been able to recite the prayers in Castilian Romance. The Judge Provisor thereupon ordered Robert Tomson to write out in his own language the

cielo & delatára & en Jesu xpo.
 & spiritu santo & nacio de la virgen
 lo fue crucificada muerto & sepultu
 s santos padres el tercero dia resus
 lo a la diestra de Dios padre &
 & los mñtos scio en el espíritu
 la catolicam en la comunión
 ramentos ~~la comunión~~ de los la resus
 los pecados & en la vida etenal
 Amen
 santificado son sea tu nombre
 untado sea hecho en la tierra
 en cotediario & perdone nos nros
 que nos an ofendido & no nos
 guarde nos de mal Amen

señor esta contigo tu cruz ben
 a esta finta de la tu vñentra
 os ruega por nos otros pecadore

orios señora de las anjeles abogada
 o hño o dulce o piadosa obenine
 a suplicamos los destazados
 pñs que seamos niños de las

Alberto
 Thomson

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

prayers above-mentioned, whereon the latter proceeded at once to write, and presently handed a paper to the Judge signed with his name, upon which, he said, he had written the *Credo*, *Paternoster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Salve Regina*.

Asked if it was true that, being in the house of Gonzalo Cerezo, High Constable of the Court, and having his bed close to that of Jorge Manuel, page to the said High Constable, the latter hung on a nail the image of Our Lady, and that he, Tomson, removed and replaced it with a cap, and put the image in a box; and that when Jorge Manuel asked him why he had removed the image, he had replied that it was because it occupied the nail which he used for his cap. He replied that no such incident happened, and that the whole thing is a falsehood which has been concocted against him, and that what happened was as he has previously stated; and that all he has declared is the truth, on the oath which he has taken, and he affirms and ratifies the same. On the foregoing being read over to him, he signed it together with the said Judge Provisor and one of the said Very Reverend Fathers.

(Signed) THE DOCTOR ANGUIS.

(Signed) ROBERT TOMSON.

(Signed) FRIAR BARTOLOME DE
LEDESMA.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE WRITING OF ROBERT TOMSON.

(Folio XXVIII)

Credo

I belive in god the father almyghtit maker of heven and of herth and in Jesu Chrito his onli son our lord which was consebid by the holigot boren of the vyrgyn mari sufrud under Pons Pilat was crucified ded and burid and assendyd (*sic*) in to hel the thurd

AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON

day ros agayn from deth to lyfe and assendid in to heven ther he setyth on the ryght hond of god the almygit from ther he shal com to judge the quycke and the ded I belive in the holy gost the holy cathholyc church the commuyon of saynts the forgyvenes of sines the Resurrexion of the body and the lyfe everlastyng, Amen.

Pater Noster

Our father which art in heven halowyd by thy name thy kingdom com thy wyl be don in hurth as hit is in heven gyve us this day our dayli bred and forgyve us our trespasses as we forgyve them that trespass agaynst us and sufer us not to be led in to non yebel tentacion but delyver us from al yvel, Amen.

Ave Maria

Hayl mary ful of grace our lords mother blessid art thou among al wyemen and blesyd is the frut of thi bely, Amen.

Salve Regina

Hal virgin quin mother of god mother of merci mother of piti praye thou for us to thy son our Lord Jesu Christ that we maye be abel to atayn the promicion of christ for thou arrt our abogado our hop and our trust for ever and ever, Amen.

(Signed) ROBERT TOMSON.

And in continuation, in the said City of Mexico this 11th. day 11th. March 1560 of the month of March, fifteen hundred and sixty, the Doctor Anguis, Judge Provisor and Vicar General in this Archbishopric of Mexico, said that as Robert Tomson is skilled in our Castilian language and knows how to write it, let him translate, word for word, the aforesaid prayers which are in his handwriting, into the Castilian language and sign them with his name.

(Signed) THE DOCTOR ANGUIS.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

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And in continuation, in the said City of Mexico, this 11th. day of March of the said year, the aforesaid Juan de Ybarreta, Notary, read and notified the above decision to the said Robert Tomson in person, who said that he would do what he was ordered, and forthwith set to writing.

Witnesses, Juan Gomez and Agustin Bravo.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

TRANSCRIPT OF TRANSLATION

(Folio XXIX)

Credo

Creo en dios padre todo poderoso creador del cielo e de la tierra e en Jesu Cristo su unico hijo que fué consebido del espiritu santo e nació de la Virgen Santa Marya padecio su poncio pilato fué crucificado muerto y sepultado dessendio e los infiernos e saco los santos padres el tercero dia resussito de los muertos e asendio al cielo a la diestra de dios padre e donde vendar a juzgar los vibos e los muertos, creo en el espiritu santo e en la santa Yglesia catolicam en la comunion de los santos por virtud de los sacramentos la resurreccion de la carne la remicion de los pecados e en la vida eternal, Amen.

Pater Nostar

Nuestro padre que esta en los cielos santificado sea tu nombre tu reyno nos a viene tu voluntad sea hecho en la tierra como en el cielo danos oy nuestro pan cotediano e perdone nos nuestros pecados como perdonamos a los que nos an ofendido e no nos dexen entrar en tentacion mas guarde nos de mal, Amen.

Ave Maria

Abe Maria llena de gracia nuestro señor está contigo tu eras bendita subre todas las mugere e bendita es la fruta de la tu

AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON

vientra Jusu santa maria madre de dios ruega por nosotros
pecadore, Amen.

Salberegina

Dios te salve virgen e madre de dios señora de los angeles
abogado nuestro ruega por nosotros a tu precioso hijo o dulce
o piadoso o benino virgin a ti clamanos a ti lloramos a supli-
camos los desterrados hijos de eva ruega a tu prescioso hijo
que seamos dinos de las promisiones de cristo, amen.

(Signed) ROBERT TOMSON.

XVI

DECISION AND SENTENCE OF THE JUDGE PROVISOIR

In the criminal trial which has been proceeding between 16th.March1560
Cristobal de Toledo, Fiscal of this Archbishopric of Mexico, and
Robert Tomson, Englishman, prisoner in the archiepiscopal jail,
and in which the said Fiscal accuses him of having given utterance
to certain Lutheran heresies which for good and sufficient
reasons I do not specify, I ordered the accusations to be
transmitted to the said Robert Tomson so that he might put
forward the defense which he might judge advisable, and on
account of his poverty, furnished him with a lawyer and a
Procurator of the Poor, who, on his behalf, in due course put
forward certain alleged exceptions and defenses; and on the
expiration of the term for the production of evidence, during
which the said Robert Tomson was condemned by witnesses and
by his own confessions, the said parties asked for publication,

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

the which I decreed, they being duly notified; and on the expiration of the term for the said publication I declared the summary enquiry to be closed, and summoned the parties in due legal form to hear the sentence, and they have appeared before me and the proceedings have been seen and the merits of same weighed by me.

Inasmuch as the aforesaid Fiscal has well and carefully sustained his accusation, and has adduced proofs thereof to confirm it, I give and pronounce it as well and truly proven; and inasmuch as the aforesaid Robert Tomson has failed to prove his exceptions and defense or aught else which might assist him, I give and pronounce them to be not proven; in consequence of which the responsibility from the said trial falls upon the said Robert Tomson, I must and do declare that he has incurred the penalty of major excommunication, to be reckoned from the time when he uttered the heresies of which he stands convicted, and the loss and confiscation of all his properties, the same to be applied to the Chamber and Revenues of His Majesty (*para la camara y fisco de Su Majestad*); and I order that the said Robert Tomson be taken tomorrow, Sunday, to the Holy Church of this City of Mexico and that in the principal chapel ¹⁰ (*Capilla mayor*) thereof, on a platform, he be publicly divested of his shoes and hose and cap, and be made to stand with a wax candle in his hand, attired in a *San Benito* ¹¹ having two crosses, one on the breast and the other on the back, there to listen to the sermon which in the said Holy Church may be preached on the said Sunday, and to abjure all species of heresy which in any manner may be opposed to our Holy Catholic Faith, and in particular those of which he is accused, and that, on the said recantation being made, he be absolved of the excommunication which he has incurred for the same; and I further condemn the said Robert Tomson to wear the said *San Benito* two full years, and to undergo one year of imprisonment and confinement in the Kingdom of Castille; and for good and sufficient reasons I order

AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON

that when he has performed the said penance in the Holy Church, he be taken back to the archiepiscopal prison and from there taken to the Port of San Juan de Ulua and delivered prisoner, together with the certified copy of the aforesaid process, and of this, my sentence, to Hortuno de Ybarra,¹² who sails as General of the fleet which is now lying in the said Port, on the eve of its voyage to the said Kingdom of Castille, whom I command by his oath of allegiance and on pain of major excommunication to receive the prisoner and have him confined and properly secured in one of the vessels of said fleet, and that the captain to whom he may be delivered be given and paid, out of the pesos of gold (oro comun) belonging to the Genoese, Agustin Boacio,¹³ which I have this day ordered to be confiscated and applied to the chamber of His Majesty, fifty common pesos of gold, for the board and passage of the said Robert Tomson as far as the City of Seville, where the said General shall hand him over, together with the certified copy aforesaid, to the Very Magnificent and Very Reverend Lord Inquisitors of the said City of Seville, so that they may determine the place and part where he must expiate the term of imprisonment aforesaid; and I order the said Robert Tomson to carry out and keep everything contained in this, my sentence, without failing in any respect, under penalty of being delivered to the secular arm.

I give and pronounce this, my definite sentence, the same to be duly recorded. (Without costs).

(Signed) THE DOCTOR ANGUIS.

The foregoing sentence was given and pronounced by the aforesaid Judge Provisor in the City of Mexico, on the 16th. day of the month of March, fifteen hundred and sixty, being witnessed by Juan Gomez, Notary, and Jerónimo de Torres, residents of this City.

Passed before me.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

XVIII

AUTO DE FE ¹⁴

17th March 1560.

And in continuation, in the City of Mexico, this 17th. day of the month of March, of the year fifteen hundred and sixty, I, the said Juan de Ybarreta, Notary, bear witness and true testimony that on this day, Sunday, I have heard the aforesaid sentence read out from the pulpit, the said Robert Tomson, in fulfilment of same, being on a platform in the aforesaid church, where he listened as decreed to the said sentence, and to the sermon which was preached, and abjured, in due form, the heresies of which he was accused, there being present the Very Magnificent Seigneurs, the Judges of the Royal Audiencia of this City, and a large number of other people.

In witness whereof I sign my name.

(Signed) JUAN DE YBARRETA.

Apostolic Notary Public.

No fees on account of poverty.

(END OF PROCESS)

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prova toyo pñeun publico fñ dñ y pñeun
laa gñes pasadoe fñ no de dñ pñeun
y el dñ pleyto por con ludo y laa mñeun
y pñeun fñeun y por my dñeun dñ pleyto
y que me tre fñeun

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con bñeun dñeun prou bñeun la pñeun prouada
prouado dñeun y pñeun y defensas nro
a las pñeun prouadas / Con sequen a dñeun
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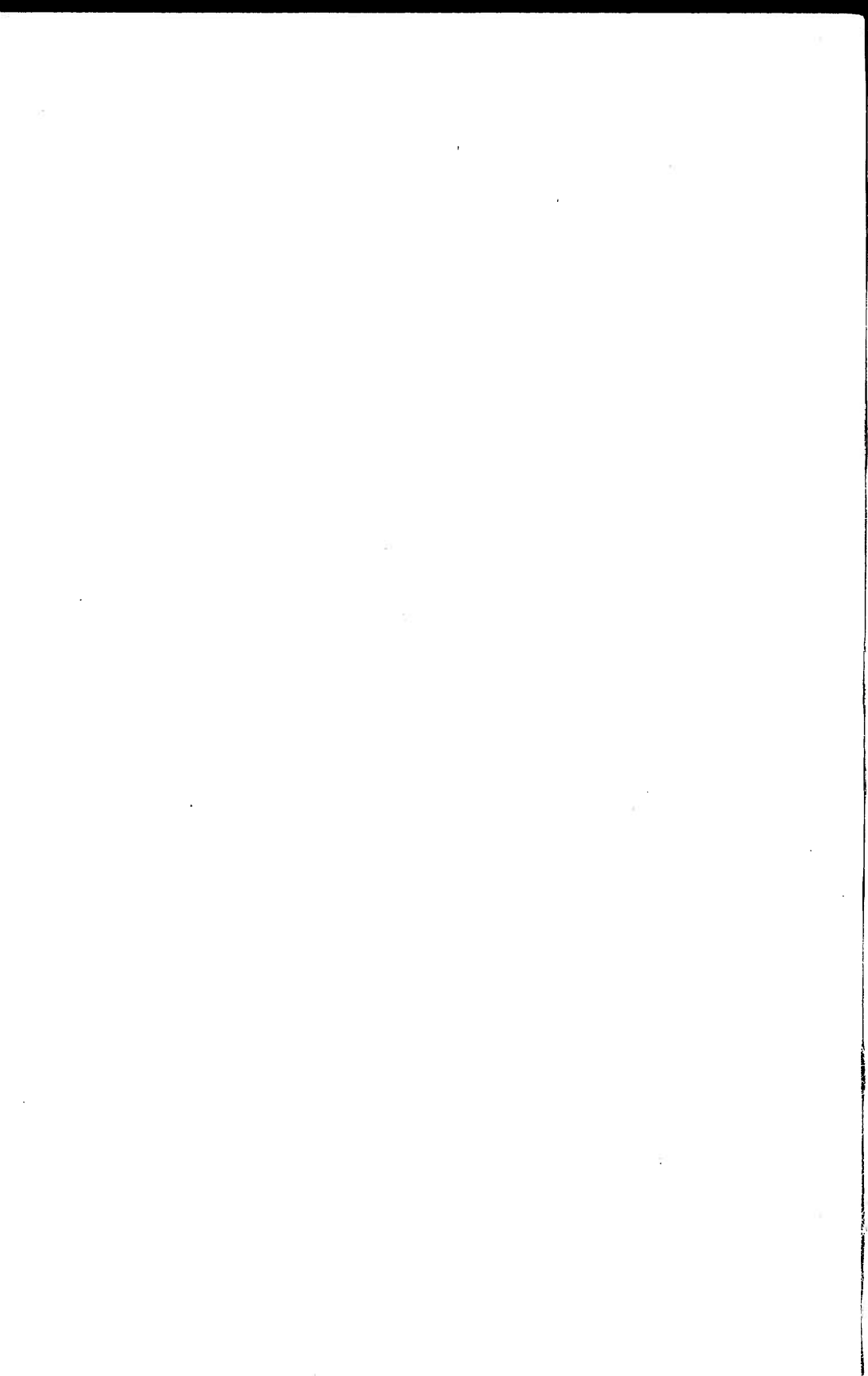
XXXI

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XIX

DOCUMENTS CERTIFYING THAT ROBERT TOMSON
WAS HANDED OVER TO THE GENERAL OF THE
SPANISH FLEET

(*Vol. 43. Inquisition Records in the Mexican National Archives*)

In the Port of San Juan de Ulua, on the second day of the 2nd. April 1560. month of April in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty, in the ship called "La Magdalena", of which Juan Gallego is owner and Hernando de la Madriz master, before me, Luis Perez, His Majesty's scrivener and of the Court of the Chief Justice (Juzgado de la justicia mayor) of the City of Veraeruz and of the said Port, Martin de Horduño, constable (alguazil), delivered to the Very Magnificent Señor Hortuño de Ybarra, General of His Majesty's fleet, which is about to sail for the Kingdoms of Castille, Agustin Boacio and Robert Tomson, prisoners, each with shackles and wearing a San Benito, together with two affidavits of their sentences signed and marked with the seal of Juan de Ybarreta, Apostolic Notary, and also signed by the Very Reverend gentleman Dr. Anguis, Vicar-General of the Archbishopric of Mexico, and sealed with the Archbishop's seal. These men were ordered to be delivered to His Worship, that he may take them to the Very Magnificent and Reverend Inquisitors of the City of Seville, in accordance with the sentences contained in the said affidavits. And the constable asks me, the scrivener, to certify and give an affidavit that he has formally delivered them to His Worship, with three hundred and thirty pesos of common gold of the above-mentioned prisoners, and he says that six pesos which should complete the total of three hundred and thirty six received by him were given to the muleteer who brought the prisoners from the City of Veracruz to this port. The said General,

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me pto a diez seudo del mes de mayo
amos 8 penh to zumgo me zno tayo
atobul

In nomine Amen
 etiam Angli eius exequuntur
 et nota de februario 1571
 et nequaquam cum casta
 et non tamquam clare in an
 et ad Angliam et non acci
 gunt velle numerum et tunc
 gunt de nequaquam et tunc
 oris et dices occurrant et tunc
 velique hunc et tunc

Handwritten signature: *James M. Smith*

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

to comply with what the sentences ordered, stated that he considered delivered to him, Agustin Boacio and Robert Tomson, each having a pair of shackles and his San Benito upon him; to which I, the scrivener, testify. And in the same way the three hundred and thirty pesos were delivered to His Worship. Witnesses: Martin de Marcana, Juan de Rios the pilot, and Ro. Franquez.

(Signed) HORTUÑO DE YBARRA.

Passed before me.

(Signed) LUIS PEREZ,

His Majesty's Scrivener.

The said scrivener and witnesses, in fulfilment of what had been ordered by the said sentences, delivered Agustin Boacio to Juan Gallego, owner of the ship "La Magdalena", and to Hernando de la Madriz, master of the same, that they may take him well guarded in the said ship to the Kingdoms of Castille, and there they shall deliver him to the General so that His Worship may hand him over to the Lord Inquisitors, together with the testimony of this sentence, and it is further ordered that his shackles be not removed. All this they must do and fulfil under penalty of paying a thousand ducats to the Chamber and Exchequer of His Majesty, to which penalty either the said Juan Gallego or Hernando de la Madriz are from this time condemned if they do the contrary. They thereupon took charge of Agustin Boacio, with the shackles and San Benito upon him, and the said persons promised to execute what the General had ordered them to do. And I, the scrivener, certify that the said Agustin Boacio, prisoner, remained in the said ship in the custody of Juan Gallego and Hernando de la Madriz, to which Isidro de la Puebla, pilot of the said ship, Juan de Rios, pilot, Ro. Franquez and Martin de Marcana are witnesses.

Passed before me.

(Signed) LUIS PEREZ,

His Majesty's Scrivener.

AGAINST ROBERT TOMSON

And after the above, a little later, on the same day, the 2nd. April 1560. General went to the ship named "Santa Maria de la Calle" and commanded the master of same, Juan de Fuentes, to appear before him, which being done, he was ordered to take Robert Tomson in his ship to the Kingdoms of Castille. The prisoner, in chains and wearing a San Benito, was thereupon handed over to him, and he was instructed to take him, well guarded, as a prisoner, and deliver him to His Worship (the General) in the said Kingdoms, so that he may be delivered to the Very Magnificent and Reverend Lord Inquisitors, together with the testimony of his sentence, as ordered by the Very Reverend Dr. Anguis, Vicar-General of the Archbishopric of Mexico. This he is to do and execute under penalty of paying a thousand ducats to the Chamber and Exchequer of His Majesty. And the said Juan de Fuentes thereupon took charge of Robert Tomson, prisoner, with the shackles and a San Benito upon him, and he promised and obligated himself to comply with what His Worship ordered. Thus there remained in the said ship Robert Tomson, in the custody of Juan de Fuentes, Master. To which I, the scrivener, certify, and to which Luis de Barrasa, Juan de Rios, pilot, Juan Gallego and Martin de Marcana were witnesses.

Passed before me.

(Signed) LUIS PEREZ,

His Majesty's Scrivener.

And I, Luis Perez, scrivener of His Majesty and of the Court of the Chief Justice of the City and Port of Veracruz, do put to this my hand and seal, in witness of the truth.

Passed before me.

(Signed) LUIS PEREZ,

His Majesty's Scrivener.

III

MEXICO CITY IN 1560

Translation of Chapters XXIV and XXV
of the

Crónica de la Nueva España

BY

FRANCISCO CERVANTES DE SALAZAR

*Published by the Hispanic Society
of America, Madrid, 1914.*

MEXICO CITY IN 1560

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MAGNIFICENT CITY OF
MEXICO, AFTER ITS COLONIZATION
BY THE SPANIARDS



HERE are numerous eye-witnesses to the fact that now, after the introduction of Christianity, the City of Mexico retains the first place in this New World which it occupied in its heathen state. This it undoubtedly deserves in view of its very many advantages, equalled in few towns of the world. It was described by me both in its interior and exterior aspects in some "Dialogues" in Latin ¹ which I added to those of Luis Vives, as it seemed to me to be proper that, (I having lived in this famous City, in whose University I was Professor of Latin, a universal tongue), all nations should know first from me rather than from another, of the City's grandeur and majesty, which, had the Viceroy displayed greater zeal, would have become still further enhanced.

The district where the Spaniards live is situated between the Indian quarters of Mexico and Tlatelulco, which almost encircle it. The boundary line is the one originally traced by Hernando Cortés and is as clever as everything else which he did. The whole of the site is practically level, and what was once a part of the laguna he turned into dry land.

The streets of the new city are, without exception, so wide

that two carts travelling in opposite directions can pass each other comfortably, while three can go in the same direction. The streets are very long and straight, and are lined on either side by rows of stone houses, high, wide, and spacious, and no town of Spain, of equal size, can boast of such fine and substantial mansions.

In the middle of the plaza, which is larger than any in all Europe, stands the principal church (*iglesia mayor*), which, when we consider the grandeur of the city, looks more like a hermitage than an important temple. Its insignificant appearance is due to the fact that it was built hurriedly, in the early days, when Cortés was absent, by Alonso de Estrada, Gonzalo de Salazar, and Rodrigo de Albornoz, the King's Commissioners. At that time it was sufficiently large for the few Spanish residents. Afterwards Cortés, on his return to Mexico, proposed to make a cathedral as magnificent as that of Seville, but he left for Spain before his great plan was developed. The church, therefore, has remained thus up to the present time. The King has now ordered a new building to be taken in hand, and the materials brought together, but nobody now alive will live to see it finished, judging by the design which has been planned.²

Although the plaza³ is very large, the whole of one side is bounded by arcades and shops, where there is a vast quantity of all kinds of merchandise for sale. The Spaniards and Indians in great multitudes flock to it from outside the city. The greater part of that side of the plaza, which faces the east, is occupied by a house built by Hernando Cortés, in which reside the Viceroy and the Judges. On the ground floor are many shops, which bring in a considerable rent. This mansion is large and commodious; it houses, in addition to the Viceroy and his retinue, the Judges and their attendants, the Royal prison and the Mint (*la casa de la moneda*). It has also a square where the Cavaliers practice tilting, not to speak of many courtyards and gardens

which form a part of the quarters of the Viceroy and of the Judges of the Audiencia. That portion of the building which overlooks the plaza has several sumptuous corridors of arched masonry. In a similar architectural style are the halls and court-rooms where justice is administered, and also the offices of the scriveners who assist them. On the same side of the plaza, divided by a street called San Francisco, the arcades and shops continue as far as another street, through which runs the principal canal of the city, forming the second side of the plaza, facing the north. On this side are the Court House of the Alcaldes, the City Jail, the Town Hall, the Foundry and the Royal Treasury, and inside, the silversmiths. All of these are grand and spacious masonry buildings, with low arcades and lofty corridors of stone, which beautify the plaza most wonderfully.

Crossing an alley, we come to the arcades which are known as the Portales de Doña Marina, with shops below and residences above. On the third side of the plaza, which faces west, are the houses of the Marquis del Valle (larger and more majestic than those of the Count de Benevente in Valladolid), wherein reside his governor, Pedro de Ahumada Samano, his chief majordomo and other officers of his household. On the same side of the plaza, after crossing the street which leads to the archiepiscopal palace and the hospital for venereal sufferers, are many other mansions, such as those of the provincial governor Montejo, Alonso de Avila and Alvarado.

Then comes the fourth side of the plaza, which runs along the street which extends as far as the Atarazanas, to which the name of Tacuba is given, the whole length of which is occupied with shops and offices. Four towers greatly enhance the appearance of the plaza; two of them stand at the corner buildings where the Viceroy and the Judges live, which were built by the Marquis, one on the house of Montejo, and another on that of Juan Guerrero.

Starting from the plaza, six streets lead to an equal number of notable buildings. The street which follows the line of the Court-house of the *alcaldes*, leads to San Agustín, ⁴ a magnificent monastery of the Augustines, the richest in rent-roll and in ornaments and silver, which exists in these parts. This street is called after the Monastery; there are in it large trading shops, offices and butchers' stalls. From the corner of the house of the Marquis, starts the street which runs to the Hospital de Nuestra Señora, ⁵ which the Marquis built and endowed.

Along another street which starts from the corner of the houses of the Marquis, can be seen the archiepiscopal buildings ⁶, which, although not large, are very massive, with two lofty towers of stone and lime. The whole building stands upon a mound which was formerly a *cu* or temple. Where the archbishop has his palace, the ground floor is the height of a pike above the street. To the right along this street we see, in front of us, the hospital for venereal sufferers, ⁷ a house of great piety and for these parts of excellent design. Here many patients are treated. It has many indulgences and pardons, and from the hospital great alms are distributed. Both the archiepiscopal buildings and this hospital were built by Friar Juan de Zumárraga, first archbishop of Mexico, of blessed memory.

Continuing for some distance in the same direction (eastwards), the church of Sanctísima Trinidad is reached, and a good way farther out we come to the fortress known as the Atarazanas, the *alcalde* of which is Bernardino de Albornoz, ⁸ *regidor* of Mexico. Below these Atarazanas are *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, lying in orderly manner, the thirteen brigantines which the Marquis ordered Martín López ⁹ to build, and with which this city was conquered. It is a pleasure to see them, and even after the lapse of so much time, they are as sound as when they were built. This fortress stands on the edge of the lake, which is in itself a beautiful sight, owing to its size and the rocky islets that arise out

of it, and the picturesque fishing canoes on its waters. The fortress is mean, and it would be advisable to make it as strong as the importance of the city merits.

Along another street, which crosses that which leads to the Atarazanas, can be seen the monastery of Santo Domingo,¹⁰ belonging to the order of the Dominicans. For more than half the length of this street there are many shops of different descriptions, and on this side of the monastery, a fine plaza, partly lined with masonry arcades, with residences above and shops below. In front, on the opposite side of the street, are three very magnificent houses belonging to private residents. The monastery, which extends the whole width of the plaza, is very large; it has a church with a single nave, one of the largest I have ever seen. A second church has been commenced and is now under construction, which will be a sight worth seeing. The monastery has at its rear a very beautiful orchard and watercourse. In this institution the monks are very studious.

Another street (already mentioned) which is called Calle de Tacuba, begins at the clock tower (*Torre del Reloj*) and stretches away to the Vera Cruz,¹¹ a church from which starts on Holy Thursdays the procession of the Brotherhood of the True Cross (*los cofrades de la Veracruz*). Beyond this church, along the highway which runs for a considerable distance westwards, stands the church of San Hipólito, on whose feast day this city was finally conquered.¹² This street is so-called because it leads direct to the village of Tacuba, and almost into the middle of it. On either side of this street there is great activity and the noise of all kinds of artificiers, such as blacksmiths, braziers, carpenters, curriers, sword-cutters, tailors, coat-of-mail makers, barbers, tallow chandlers and the like. As far as the Veracruz, on both sides of the road, are a number of very important houses, belonging to well-known citizens. This is the most striking and beautiful street of the city, leading straight to the orchards. It

is one of the most splendid boulevards in any part of the world; from the beauty of the gardens, the facilities for irrigation and the substantial magnificence of the country houses.

By the remaining street, which also for half its length has many shops, and beyond them the private houses of notable families, access is obtained to the monastery of the Franciscans.¹³ Its church and monastery are mediocre: the orchard and courtyard are very large. In the middle of the courtyard, which is surrounded by trees, is a very high wooden cross.¹⁴ On its west side is the chapel of San José, which, as I mentioned in the *Túmulo Imperial*,¹⁵ that I wrote in connection with the obsequies of the invincible Emperor, Don Carlos V., has seven naves. Its capacity is sufficient to hold the whole of the Spanish inhabitants of the city on the occasion of a feast. It is very worthy of notice by reason of its cunningly wrought wooden roof supported by many columns: in front is a portico of masonry arches. It is very well lighted, as the chapel is high and entirely open in front. The masonry arches are low, serving more for ornament than for protection and covering.

Beyond the churches and led up to by the streets already described, is the church of San Pablo, situated in the Mexican quarter, where, on the various feast days, a large number of Indians and a few Spaniards hear mass. Farther out is the Hermitage of San Antonio, on the Calzada de Ixtapalapa. In another part of the town, inhabited by the Spaniards, is a convent of nuns of the order of Madre de Dios, which, although the building is not striking, is, from the number of nuns and their goodness, piety, and excellent personal qualities, as distinguished as any of the important nunneries of Castile, most of the nuns being daughters of prominent families. A new house, is being built, near to the present one, into which they will move in order to have a suitable church and residence. In this quarter, which is called Mexico, there are many churches of the Indians,

such as Santa Maria de Redonda and San Juan, and also others of the Spaniards along the line of the canal.

On one side of the monastery of San Francisco is the College of the Orphan Boys (*Colegio de los Niños Huérfanos*)¹⁶ to which the name of *La Doctrina* is given. In this school there are many boys, who are well taught. A chaplain is always in attendance, as well as a majordomo and a teacher who instructs them in reading and writing, with all the necessary service. The college is a very devout institution. The building is not very imposing. The most high Pontiffs have granted to it the indulgences enjoyed by San Juan de Letrán of Rome, and the institution is therefore under this protection. In it are said every day many masses, inasmuch as but few people die without masses being said for them. The institution is under the direction of a Rector, who must be one of the *Oidores* (Judges of the "Audiencia") and four deputies. Further on is a hospital, where poor and sick Indians receive medical attention. The hospital has good shops, built by the Indians for rent.

A little nearer the centre of the city, facing the other side of San Francisco, is the College for Orphan Girls¹⁷ (*Colegio de las Huérfanas*), which is a good and roomy house, very secluded, managed by a Mother Superior. There are many girls, of whom a certain number are received out of charity, while others are either maintained by wealthy parents or have been left private means. They are taken in and taught the fundamental principles of religion and to be withdrawn from the world, learning domestic duties and sewing, until it is time for them to leave the Asylum. As many as possible of the poor orphan girls are married off every year by the Charity Confraternity (*la Cofradía de la Caridad*), the Rector and deputies of which are in charge of the administration of this institution, which of a surety fills a great want in the City. The Charity Confraternity, the chief organization of its kind, and to which belong all persons of

position, performs many charitable deeds, not only as indicated above, but also by going to receive the poor and sick who come from Spain. This duty is discharged by a Canon of the High Church, who, up to the present, has always been the Canon Sanctos. On the road is a hospital known as Perote, but in the rest of the way there is no accomodation.

In the district of Mexico are also the churches of Santa Catalina, San Sebastián and Santa Ana. The church of Santa Ana marks the commencement of the Indian town of Santiago, where is situated the great plaza of which I have already spoken. There are here many churches of the Indians, and in the plaza a monastery which is called by the name of Santiago, ¹⁸ belonging to the Franciscan friars, a building of graceful appearance and great extent, where there gather on feast days, to hear mass and sermon, all the inhabitants of that part of the town. Close to this monastery is a college, also of considerable size and pleasing aspect, where there are many Indians, who are taught reading, writing and grammar, which some of them acquire notably well, although they gain little good thereby beyond their stay in the college, because, owing to their legal disability, they cannot and should not be ordained. The head of the monastery has charge of this college; it has been suggested that it should be converted into one for Spaniards, and this would be wise.

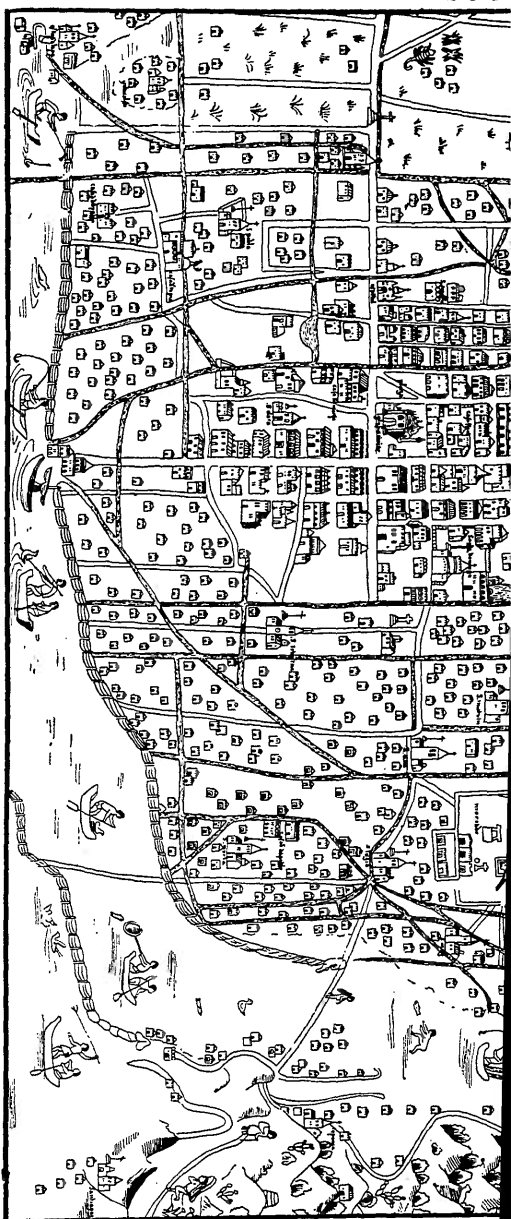
Formerly only a few streets of Mexico received the constant supply of water so necessary for all important cities, but water now runs through all the streets. At each street intersection there is a stone reservoir (*un arca de piedra*), from which people living in the vicinity may take water, which also enters many houses. The building where the water is received for distribution is very beautiful and of fine workmanship. It was built by Claudio de Arceñiega, the Master-builder of the Public Works of Mexico. Don Fernando de Portugal, His Majesty's Treasurer, is, by

appointment of the Municipal Council, the Master-foreman in charge of the supervision of constructions.

The whole of the city is laid out with its Indian population very scattered; it is encircled at a distance of three to four leagues by a number of hills and mountain ranges; the fields on their slopes are very even, very fertile, and smiling and healthy, being watered by a number of streams and springs. On the hills and in the valleys there are many Indian villages with very fine churches and monasteries. Much wheat and corn are gathered, and there are many mills, and quantities of the smaller livestock (*ganado menor*). The land affords some game and the lagoon a plentiful supply of fish, although there is very little in the rivers.

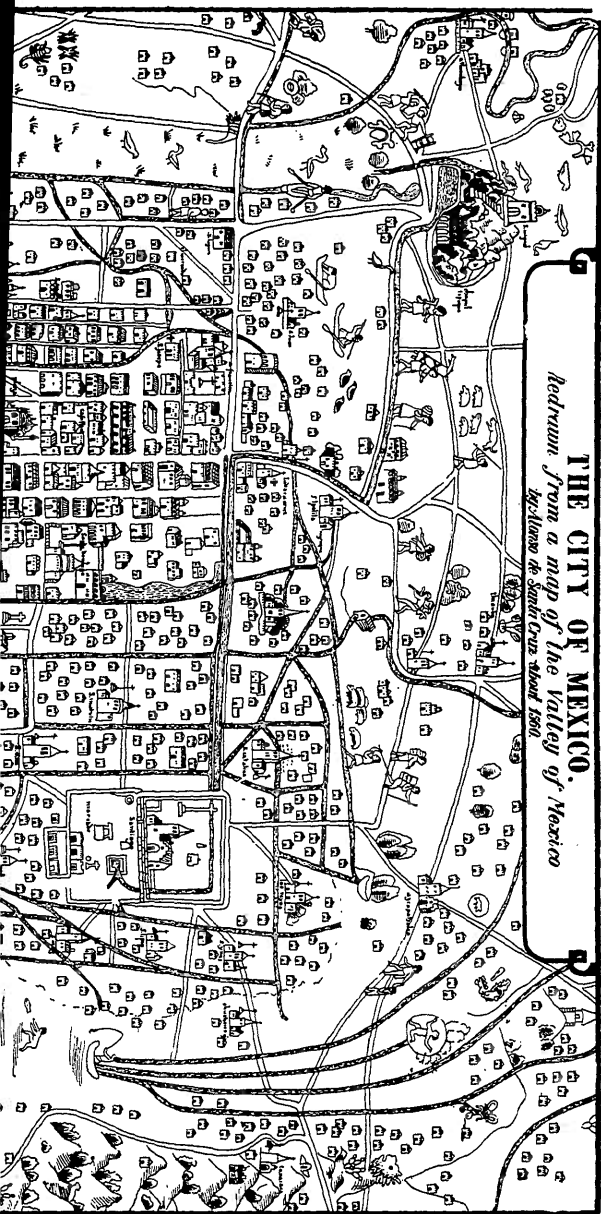
The city has communal lands, where cattle of all kinds graze. Half a league away, among the irrigated lands, there is a wood wherein is a very beautiful spring, from whence water is conveyed to the city; the name of the wood, which also covers a hillside, is Chapultepec. ¹⁹ Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of this New Spain, built a house on the slopes; above the house, which, though small, is a very good one, and at the highest part of the wood, he constructed a round chapel, the prettiest thing imaginable, and the finest building of its size in the whole of the city. It has its *pretiles* (railings or battlements) all around, from which a view is obtained of the whole city, the lagoon, the fields and villages, which in truth is one of the finest in the world. ²⁰ There are in this wood many rabbits, hares and deer and a few wild boars (*puercos monteses*). The whole is shut off with a strong door, over which I put this phrase: NEMUS EDIFITIO ET AMENITATE PULCHRUM DELITIAS POPULI LUDOVICUS VELASCUS, HUIJUS PROVINCIAE PROREX, CAESARI SUO CONSECRAT, which means: Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of this Province, consecrates this grove, beautiful for its terraces and amenities, to his Emperor, as a pleasure resort for the people.

SOU



RTH

SOUTH



THE CITY OF MEXICO.
*Redrawn from a map of the Valley of Mexico
by Alonso de Santa Cruz about 1560.*

NORTH

IV.
NOTES TO
THE
VOYAGE OF ROBERT TOMSON

Notes to the Voyage of Robert Tomson (Pages 2-22.)

Note 1, page 2

Sir George Cary, writing from the Court at Greenwich to the Mayor of Southampton on the 2nd. February 1589-90, asks permission for William Iryshe, the captain of the barque Yonge, to pass unmolested to the Isle of Wight, so that he can provision his ship. The Tudor ships had a long life, and it is not improbable that this was the barque in which Robert Tomson left Bristol. (*Letters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, p. 180, *Southampton Record Society*, 1921).

Note 2, page 5

John Sweeting married a Spanish woman and was the father of Robert Sweeting, a resident of Texcoco. This Robert Sweeting acted as interpreter to the Englishmen who fell into the hands of the Viceroy Martín Enriquez after the defeat of Captain John Hawkins in September 1568. He appears as interpreter in the Inquisition proceedings against John Farenton, a native of Windsor, one of the sailors from the flagship the "Jesus of Lubeck", which was captured during the fight. In this trial he is called "Roberto Cetin, a resident of Texcoco, the Spanish born son of an Englishman and a Spanish woman".

Note 3, page 5

Leonard Chilton, the son-in-law of John Sweeting, was apparently a brother of John Chilton, who wrote "A notable discourse of Master John Chilton, touching the people, Manners, Mynes, Cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of the West Indias", printed by Hakluyt in 1589.

Among the documents relating to the trial of Henry Hawks in the Mexican National Archives (*Inquisition*, Vol. 49), who, under the name of Pero Sanchez, was accused of heresy in 1570 by the ecclesiastical authorities at Guadalajara, are to be found a number of original letters in English which prove that Tomson was on friendly terms with Hawks, the Chiltons and the Sweetings, and that all of them, at different times, were associated in trading with the West Indies and Mexico.

Among the papers found on Hawks when he was arrested was a letter to him from Leonard Chilton, dated 5th. July 1567. The

original is missing, but a Spanish translation appears in the *proceso*. Judging from the translations of other English letters which were used as evidence and are still preserved, it may not be very accurate. Translated from the Spanish it is as follows:

[Seville?] 'In the name of Jesus, July 5, year 1567.

'Magnificent Sir:

"Your health I desire to the contentment of your own heart and the service of God, etc. During the last days, by way of Seville, I heard of the safe arrival of your worship at the island of La Palma, at which I was no little rejoiced, and I trust to God that before long I shall hear news of your safe arrival in New Spain, which I pray to God may be very shortly because I greatly desire to hear news of it, etc. After your worship departed from here I went to San Lucar, where I found your wife suffering, but blessed be God! she is now well and in the house of Tomas Gual [Wall], as your worship will learn from her letters that go with this Fleet, as well as from Duarte her brother; the latter goes out in a ship from San Lucar to New Spain and will be able to give your worship any news that you may desire. Balderramos was here this last week and did not want to come to my house on account of Robert Arbe [? Harvey], and Balderramos said that he would wait a year, and after, if your worship did not remember him, he would go in search of you, even to the end of the earth, etc. Our friend Juan Franton [John Frampton] has arranged with all his creditors to pay them in three years and three months. Humphrey Rickthorne came here twice, but could not arrange anything as he had hoped, but was forced to do all that the lawyer Cerrudo wanted, in such a manner that Humphrey unavoidably runs the risk that what he owes to John Frampton and Hugh Typton depends on the luck of the ship of Frampton in its voyage to New Spain, etc. This year, the Lord be praised! there is no fear of the Turks and Moors because the coasts are very well guarded by the galleys of Spain and Italy, and Juan Andrea Doria¹ is now here with thirty four galleys and has done a great deal of good on the coast, as you may have heard from others, etc. I have no news from England to give you at present except that everything is in peace and quietude. We are awaiting an ambassador of the Emperor to arrange a marriage between a brother of his and our Queen,² which I believe will take place presently, etc. Business between Flanders and England is established, the Lord be praised! and in the manner desired by His Majesty the King of Spain, etc. They say here that the Duke of Alba attacked Genoa with his forces, which did not happen. Here there are great preparations for war; some say at one place and some at another, but I think it is to attack Algiers. God give His Majesty good fortune and victory! I beg your worship, should it be your intention to remain a long time overseas, to advise me now and then as to your health and prosperity, and when we may expect you back in Spain. I beg your worship not to fail to do so, and I hope that my brother Roberto Cetin [Sweeting] may have a better remembrance of his relatives than what he has had up to the present. Also I beg your

(1)—Giovanni Andrea Doria, Prince of Malfi, Spanish Admiral (d. 1606). He was the grand-nephew of the famous Genoese Admiral Andrea Doria (1466-1560). See the *Armada Española*, by Cesáreo Fernandez Duro, Vol. II.

(2)—Evidently a marriage between Don Juan of Austria and Queen Elizabeth was discussed much earlier than the Queen's reported hint in 1575.

TOMSON

worship to give my brother Andrew good advice and stand his friend in all that may be possible for your worship, and that you do not fail to give him good counsel. With this [fleet] I am writing to my brother Roberto Cetin, as also to our friend Rafael Sarre and Juan Anton. All your friends here and in San Lucar are in good health and salute you and kiss your hand, and here I stop the present letter, being always at your orders. From the Court I am advised that Roxel Bodian has an order from His Majesty to go to New Spain, and from there he appears to be one of the five men whom His Majesty has ordered to go to China [Philippines]. So far I have received no letter from Roxel himself, but I am daily expecting to receive advices from him, and I pray to God that he may have all the good fortune that I wish him.

"Leonardo Chilton."

Note 4, page 5

Ralph Sarre. Tomson mentions him in his evidence during his trial, see page 41. He was still living in Mexico years afterwards, as both Tomson and Leonard Chilton, in letters to Henry Hawks, mention him in 1567.

Note 5, page 5

Cassivi-cassava, the *Manihot utilisima*, belonging to the natural order Euphorbiaceae, called also Manioc or Mandioc, a well-known South-American shrub. The roots, which sometimes weigh as much as 30 pounds, are dug up, washed and ground to pulp. The juice, which is poisonous, is pressed out, and when boiled becomes a delicious sauce called *Cassar*. The flour that remains after pressure is formed into thin round cakes and baked. From the pure flour of cassava is formed the well-known food called tapioca. (See Am. Ency. article *Cassava*).

Note 6, page 6

Cana fistula-Cassia fistula. Its legumes contain a quantity of thick pulp, which is a mild laxative and cathartic and enters into the composition of the confection of cassia and the confection of senna.

Salsa perillia. Sarsa parilla, from sarsa, a bramble, parilla, a vine. It is the *Smilax officinalis* H. B. K. The root was brought to Europe first about the year 1530.

"They bring also" (says Acosta) "for the Physicians *Cassia fistula*, the which growes plentifully in Santo Domingo. It is a great tree which carries these canes as his fruit. They brought in the fleete wherein I came from Santo Domingo, fortie eight quintalles of *Cassia fistula*. *Sarsaparilla* is not less knowne, for a thousand remedies wherein it is used". Monardes, writing in 1574, says of the *Cassia fistula*: "This of ours that they bring from Sancto Domingo and Saincte John is ripe, greate, full, weightie, honilyke, and fresh. In so much that many times it commeth in sixtie days after it is gathered, and beeing freshe it is of gracious and good taste and not of so horrible smell, as that of Levant is, and so it doeth his woorke farre better, and with more falicitie". For contemporary descriptions of these plants see *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies* by Father Joseph Acosta (Hakluyt Society, Vol. LX, translated by Clements R. Markham, p, 260) and *Joyfull Newes out of the Neue founde*

World, by Nicolas Monardes, translated by John Frampton, 1577 (pp. 38-44, Vol. I), The Tudor translations, London 1925. See also *The Hawkins' Voyages* by Markham, p. 263 (Hakluyt Society, Vol. LVII-1878).

Note 7, page 7

“Present”, a misprint for President.

Note 8, page 9

Cuerpo Santo, called by the English sailors “corposant”, i. e., St. Elmo's Fire.

St. Elmo was the patron saint of the sailors in the Mediterranean. He suffered death during the persecution under Diocletian, A. D. 304. St. Elmo's fire is an electrical atmospheric phenomenon. The discharge of electricity usually appears as a tip of light on the masts of ships and other pointed objects, and is usually accompanied by a crackling or fizzing noise. It is frequently observed in the Gulf of Mexico during the winter season.

Note 9, page 11

Thomas Blake. Tomson's friend is the first British islander of whom we have any notice in North America. He was a Scotsman, son of William Blake and Agnes Mowat, and, according to his own declaration made to Viceroy Velasco about 1550, he arrived in Mexico in 1534 or 1535, after having taken part in the conquest of New Granada in 1532 with Alonso de Heredia, the brother of the conquistador Pedro de Heredia. He also accompanied Francisco Vasquez de Coronado during his famous campaign to the seven cities of Cibola. It is generally agreed that Coronado penetrated so far north as latitude forty degrees, and into the territory now forming the thriving States of Oklahoma and Kansas. Thomas Blake, we may therefore claim, is the first British islander, of whom we have any knowledge, to take part in the Spanish explorations of what is now United States territory. Blake's statement to the Viceroy, as transcribed by Icaza from the original documents in the Archivo de Indias, is as follows:

“Tomas Blaque, dize:

“Que es vezino desta ciudad, natural del rreyno de Escozia, hijo legitimo de Guillén Blaque y de Inés Moat, y que há quinze años que pasó a esta Nueva España, y ques casado con Francisca de rribera, muger primera que fué de Xriptobal de Canyego, uno de los primeros pobladores; dize que se halló en la pacificación de Cartajena, debaxo de la bandera de un hermano, del gobernador Heredia, y en una entrada estuvo quince meses, donde pasó grandes trabajos; y fué a la conquista de Cibola, a su costa, donde estuvo tres años; tiene en su poder a Francisca de Canyega, de edad de diez años, hija del dicho Xriptóbal de Canyego y de la dicha su muger; y que tiene su casa poblada con sus armas y caballos y padesce necesidad.” (*Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España*, Vol. II. N^o 733, p. 98).

Note 10, page 11

Gonzalo Cerezo, a native of Cordova, in Spain, is believed to have been in his youth a page of Hernando Cortés. He came to Mexico in 1520 with Pánfilo de Narvaez, and was present in 1521 at

the taking of the City of Mexico. In various official documents, in 1554, and also at Tomson's trial in 1559, his age is given as "over fifty", so that he was probably born a little before the year 1504. He took part in the conquest of Pánuco, Jalisco and Nueva Galicia. In the "Actas de Cabildo" of the Ayuntamiento of Mexico we find he was holding the post of alguazil mayor between the years 1545 and 1564, and was associated with Andrés de Tapia in protecting the privileges of the conquistadores. The position of alguazil mayor was one of the minor official posts of the Audiencia, and the duties of the officer were somewhat similar to those of a sheriff in an English county or shire. Tomson's description of the image of pure silver and gold (p. 15) which Cerezo gave to the Monastery of Santo Domingo is confirmed by Dr. Alonso de Zorita in his *Relación de la Nueva España*, written in 1585. In the memorial of the conquistadores of New Spain, printed in the *Sumaria Relación de las cosas de la Nueva España*, by Balthasar Dorantes de Carranza (p. 443), he is referred to in uncomplimentary terms: "Gonzalo Cerezo had no children. His lands passed into the possession of His Majesty as he was accused of a deadly sin ("por el pecado nefando") and was expelled to Castille. He was alguazil mayor of this city and very rich. The monastery of Santo Domingo inherited his houses".

Note 11, page 11

Robert Tomson was arrested by the ecclesiastical authorities on the 9th. September 1559, and heard his sentence delivered in the High Church on the 17th. March 1560. He had therefore been in prison a little over seven months (see pages 26-72).

Note 12, page 11

Agustín Boacio was arrested at Zacatecas and tried in 1559 for speaking against purgatory and the confession, and for other heresies. His *proceso*, which is a voluminous document of 193 folios, is to be found in the Mexican National Archives, (*Inquisition Records, Vol. XXXI.*)

Note 13, page 11

Auto. The auto de fe or public act of faith. Tomson refers to the auto de fe which took place in the cathedral on the 17th March 1560 as the first in New Spain. This statement is incorrect, as a number had taken place, from time to time, during the previous thirty years. A notable auto de fe was held on Sunday, the 30th. November, 1539, when Don Juan, the cacique of Texcoco, was condemned to be burned for idolatry. The sentence was carried out in the presence of the Viceroy Mendoza, Bishop Zumárraga and the Judges of the Royal Audiencia (see *Proceso Inquisitorial del Cacique de Texcoco. Vol. I, Publicaciones del Archivo General y Público de la Nación-México 1910.*)

The first auto de fe after the regular Inquisition was established in 1571, took place on Sunday, the 28th. February 1574. This auto was held with great pomp and ceremony in the main plaza of the city, when 77 heretics were sentenced, among them being 30 of Hawkins's sailors. At this auto de fe, two were condemned to be burned after strangulation; they were George Riveley, an English sailor from Hawkins's flagship, the "Jesus of Lubeck", and

Marin Cornu, a French barber who had been arrested for heresy at Mérida, in Yucatan. In the following year an auto de fe was held on the 6th. March, the ceremony being conducted in the chapel of San José, adjoining the monastery of San Francisco. The only victim sentenced to death at this auto was John Martin, a son of the sacristan of Cork cathedral. This Martin was also called Cornelius, and is Cornelius the Irishman referred to in Miles Phillips's narrative in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (p. 574, 1589 ed.). Miles Phillips, though, was in error in stating that Cornelius was burned at the same time as Riveley. From the place where the auto de fe was held those condemned to die were carried on horseback to the *quemadero*, which at that time was situated on the open lands to the north-west of what is now known as the Alameda. The total number of heretics sentenced to be burned in the sixteenth century by the Inquisition in New Spain was seventeen, nine of whom, chiefly Jews, were condemned in the auto de fe of 1596.

Note 14, page 13

The distance is approximately 268 miles, and the journey was generally made by way of Puebla and Jalapa.

Note 15, page 13

Hugh Typton was British Consul at Seville for many years, and up to 1564. In the Public Record Office in London are preserved his official letters. In 1569 we find him rendering useful service to the ill-treated English sailors who had been sent from Mexico that year to the dungeons of Seville. In a letter written to Cecil from Spain, and signed on behalf of the prisoners by Fowler, George Fitzwilliam and John Varney, there is a reference to Hugh Typton, asking that Cecil should be favourable to his affairs "for he hath this many yeres paste alway releved any of the Queen's Maj's subjects that have had troble in these parts (*Calender S. P. Eliz. For. 1569-71-Record Office, M. S. N^o 110*).

Note 16, page 13

John de la Barrera. Tomson, after his return to Spain and marriage to the daughter of Juan de la Barrera, wrote to Henry Hawks in 1567 regarding his wife's property. The original letter, which is bound up with the documents relating to the trial of Henry Hawks in 1570-71, is as follows:

"Worshipfull Mr. Hakes:

"This shalbe to desyre you that god sendynge well to Mexico, you be so good as to delyvar my letres unto Sancho Flores, which goth in one with Honfry Rickthorne's, and desyre him to take with of Francisco Tyrado of Mexico and delyvar him a letre of mine which goeth in one with his and knowe of him how the matre standith as conserninge a 1800 pesos that he remaynyth to covar [recover] of my wyfe's father's goods. For I have wryten the said Francisco Tyrado dyvars tymes and send him my powre and my wife's with al other recados [commissions] nedfull for the covrans [recovery] of and sendynge hether of the said for thre yeres agone, and untill this daye I cold not receve ietre nor word of his; of the which I do greatly marvell, beyng my wife's godfather and so great a frynd of her fathers as he was in his

lyfetye, and so honyst a ma
 towld me of hime he is, and
 my letres and recados hath c
 desyre you to put the said Sa
 to hime to knowe how the sa
 hath or will except the sa
 conserninge the matre, and
 me with Mr. Typton's letres o
 flyt [fleet] I maye send powre
 the recovarns [recovery] ther
 plesure. And also I pray you
 our owld frind Rafe Sare and
 our frynds that shall enquier
 send yow a prosperos viage a
 "In Sant Lucas de Baron

"My wife's name is Maria de
 is Symon dela Barrera, sone
 that dyed on the ways comyn
 (*Superscription*)

"A el muy Magnifico Señ
 en la Veracruz en la Nov

Note 1

John Chilton. See Note 3. Fo
 judgment and sentence upon T



SAMBENITO OF THE RECONCILED

onyst a man as by report of dyvars which hath
he is, and I beyng avertysyd by othres that
dos hath come to his hand. Therefore I shall
he said Sancho Flores in remimbres to specke
how the said matre standyth and whether he
pt the said powre and recados I sent him
atre, and of what pasyth therein, and to wryt
n's letres of all that pasyth, that with the next
end powre and faculty to the said Flores for
every] thereof; and herein you shal do me grat
I pray you to do my harty comendacions unto
e Sare and Robert Sweetynge with the rest of
all enquyer for me ther. And this the lord god
ros viage and well to retorne agayne.
s de Baromeda the 25 of Aprill anno 1567.

"Yours to his powre,

"Robert Tomson.

s Maria de la Barrera, and her brother's name
rera, sone and dostar to John de la Barrera
ays comynge owt of the Yndias."

gnifico Señor Henrique Haques
en la Nova hispania en Mexico."

Note 17, page 14

Note 3. For the Sambenito, see the Inquisition
ence upon Tomson, pages 69-71. J. T. Medina in
La Primitiva Inquisición Americana prints a memorandum of the
Sambenitos that were hanging in
the Cathedral Church of Mexico
in the year 1667. Among them were
those which had been worn by
Robert Tomson, Agustin Boacio
(1560), George Riveley (1574), Guiller-
mo Cornelius (1575), and Don Guillen
de Lombardo (William Lamport),
a very remarkable Irishman, who,
after seventeen years' imprisonment,
was burned in the auto de fe of 1659.
For the different forms of Sambe-
nitos see *A History of the Inquisi-
tion in Spain* by H. C. Lea, Vol.
III, pp. 162-172.



Note 18, page 14

Tomson's account of his trial should
be compared with the official secret
record (pages 26-72) Though writing
so long after the events he describes,
his story is very reliable.

Note 19, page 17

"Villanous Portugal". See evidence
of Jorge Manuel, page to Gonzalo
Cerezo, page 30.



ONCILED

Notes 20 and 21, pages 17 and 18

San John de Ullua. San Juan de Ulua was the port of Vera Cruz, which at that time was situated ten miles northwards along the coast. The port was discovered by Juan de Grijalva, whom Diego Velasquez, the Governor of Cuba, sent to explore the coast of New Spain in 1517. The Indian name of the place was Chalchicuecan. The port was of great importance from the earliest times. On the mainland was founded by Cortés the original city of Vera Cruz, called in Tomson's time Villa Rica la Vieja. The city of Vera Cruz was transferred from the northerly location to its present site in 1599, during the viceroyalty of the Count of Monterey.

Note 22, page 19

Mexico. The best contemporary description of the city, as it appeared during Tomson's residence there, is that of Francisco Cervantes de Salazar in the *Crónica de la Nueva España*, written in Mexico between the years 1557 and 1560. A translation from the Spanish appears on pages 78-86.

Note 23, page 20

Don Luis de Velasco (1550-1564) was the second Viceroy. He is well known as "The Emancipator of the Indians". To him, he declared, "the liberty of the Indians was of more concern than all the mines in the world, and that the revenues they yielded to the Spanish crown were not so important that all Divine and human laws should be sacrificed in order to obtain them." Velasco also devoted much attention to education, and it was soon after his arrival in Mexico that the University was founded (1553). He died in Mexico on the 31st. July 1564.

Note 24, page 21

Mexico City, situated as it is at an elevation of 2240 metres (7349 ft.) above sea level, has a very temperate climate. Tomson's meteorological data was necessarily scanty. The following records are of interest:

TEMPERATURE IN MEXICO CITY FOR THE YEARS 1879-1921 (INCLUSIVE)

	AVERAGE MONTHLY FAHR	MAXIMUM FAHR	MINIMUM FAHR
January	54.1	77	27.0
February	57.0	81.1	29.7
March	60.6	84.7	32
April	63.9	90.1	39.2
May	64.9	91.6	42.4
June	63.9	86.5	42.8
July	62.0	84.2	45.5
August	62.0	84	46.7
September	61.0	80	33.8
October	59.0	79.3	36.1
November	56.5	79.7	30.2
December	54.0	75.2	29.0

Not to be given

Sept
Evel
1870

[See p. 95.]

Longest day.....21st. June. Shortest day..22nd. December.

Sun sets.6.18 P. M.

Sun sets.....5.04 P. M.

„ rises4.59 A. M.

„ rises.....6.07 A. M.

The difference in the length of the shortest and longest day is 2 hrs. 22 m.

When Tomson mentions a difference of only one hour he was probably thinking of the slight variation in the evening. During the year 1925 the number of hours of sunshine was as follows:

January.....	241.1	July.....	212.9
February.....	212.7	August.....	196.1
March.....	223.1	September.....	122.9
April.....	236.5	October.....	169.6
May.....	230.1	November.....	166.7
June.....	149.6	December.....	125.5

Rainfall. The average annual rainfall for 49 years (1877-1925) was 583.1 mm, (23 ins.) The maximum fall in this period was in 1878, when it amounted to 894.6 mm. (35 ins.) The minimum fall was in 1894, when only 331.8 mm. (13 ins.) was recorded. The maximum *monthly* rainfall during the same period was in August 1878, when 345.6 mm. (13½ ins.) fell. In addition to the above, a fall of 1011 mm. (40 ins.) was recorded in the year 1865. The greatest proportion of the annual rainfall is during the months of June July, August and September.

Note 25, page 21

Mexico was finally conquered by Cortés on San Hipolito's Day, 13th. August 1521.

Note 26, page 21

Cochinilla. Cochineal, a dye-stuff for the production of scarlet, crimson, and other colours. Cochineal (*coccus cacti*) in Europe, prior to the early part of the seventeenth century, was generally regarded as a small berry or the seed of a plant, but the Indians who cultivated the *Nopalea cochinellifera* (Indian: *Nocheznopalli*) upon which the cochineal insect was reared, centuries before the Spanish conquest, could not have had this erroneous view. The early Mexicans cultivated the plant for the sake of the dye-yielding insect which feeds upon it. The chief sources of supply in Mexico were the States of Oaxaca, Guerrero and, to a small extent, Puebla. It was afterwards introduced into Guatemala, Honduras, the Canary Islands, Algeria, Java and Australia. The once thriving industry in the State of Oaxaca has now fallen into decay, due to the discovery of the extraction of colour substances from coal tar. Formerly most of the cochineal was shipped from Oaxaca to England, but the aniline dyes have taken its place, and the cochineal cactus is now only grown by a few Indians in their gardens as a curiosity. The famous Mexican scientist, Don José Antonio Alzate Ramirez, in 1777 wrote some extremely interesting accounts of the cochineal insect and the industry, illustrated with excellent engravings. These were published in the *Gacetas de Literatura de México*, in the issues of 5th. and 28th. February, 12th. April, 12th. May, 21st. June and the 9th. August 1794. These articles were reprinted in the edition of the *Gacetas de Literatura de México*. Vol. III, pp. 243-19. Puebla 1831.

Note 27, page 22

See note 6. Indigo (*Indigofera*) is largely produced in the States of Chiapas, Veracruz, Oaxaca, Guerrero, and, to some extent, in the State of Colima. The balme which Tomson refers to is balsam. For a contemporary description, see *Joyfull Newes out of the Newe founde Worlde*, by Nicolas Monardes, translated by John Frampton (Vol. I, page 22, *op. cit.*).

V.
NOTES TO
THE
INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST
ROBERT TOMSON

Notes to the Inquisitorial Proceedings Against
Robert Tomson
(Pages 26-75)

Note 1, page 26

Doctor Anguis. There is very little known about Luis de Anguis. He appears to have arrived in Mexico about the middle of the century, and held for some years the post of secretary to Archbishop Montufar. He enjoyed the confidence of Philip II, and frequently exchanged letters with him regarding the affairs of New Spain. We find him, as Judge Provisor and Vicar General of the Archbishopric, taking an important part in the enquiry into the conduct of Dr. Chico de Molina, Dean of the Cathedral and Professor of Theology, an enquiry which arose from the Dean's quarrel with the Archbishop. In January 1560, Dr. Anguis was elected Professor of Canonical Law in the University, a post which he held until March 1565, when he left for Spain without obtaining the permission of the Rector, and in the course of a few weeks the professorship was given to Don Cristobal de Badillo. (See: *Documentos inéditos del Siglo XVI para la Historia de México*, edited by P. Mariano Cuevas, S. J., pp. XIV and 250-267; *Descripción del Arzobispado de México hecha en 1570*, p. 412.)

Note 2, page 26

Gonzalo Cerezo, see note 10, page 93.

Note 3, page 33

Andover, a town in Hampshire, about twenty miles northwest of Winchester. It is an ancient town, its history dating from the time of the Roman occupation of Britain.

Note 4, page 34

Hospital of Our Lady. The Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, now called Hospital de Jesús Nazareno, was founded by Hernando Cortés in 1527, and is therefore the oldest charitable institution on the American continent. It was endowed by Cortés in his will, and has remained to this day in the care of his descendants and under their administration. It is still a first-class hospital, kept in perfect order, and does much

praiseworthy benevolent work. The archives of the hospital contain many valuable original manuscripts relating to Cortes and the conquistadors, the earliest of which date from the year 1520. In the adjoining chapel are carefully guarded the remains of Cortés, and the mystery regarding the final resting place of the ashes of the great conquistador has now been solved. (For a description of the Hospital see *Disertaciones sobre la Historia de México* by D. Lucas Alaman, Vol. 2, pp. 121-160, second edition, Mexico 1900.)

Note 5, page 41

Rafael Sarre, see Note 4 page 92.

Note 6, page 41

Tomb in San Francisco. Tomson refers to the structure which was erected in 1559 in front of the Monastery of San Francisco, to commemorate the obsequies of the Emperor Charles V. This structure is described and illustrated in *Túmulo Imperial de la Gran Ciudad de México*, written by Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, and printed in Mexico by Antonio de Espinosa in 1560. Only one copy of the original is known to bibliographers, and it was recently acquired by the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Gabriel, California. The text has been reprinted by Joaquín García Icazbalceta in his *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI* (Nº 39) pp. 97-121.

Note 7, page 48

Friar Alonso de Montufar was born in the City of Loja, in the Archbishopric of Granada, towards the close of the fifteenth century. He became a Dominican monk, and was the confessor of the Marqués de Mondefar, who proposed him for the Archbishopric of Mexico. He was consecrated in 1553 at Granada and arrived in Mexico in 1554. He died in Mexico on the 7th. March 1572 at a very advanced age. (See *El Episcopado Mexicano*, by Francisco Sosa, pp. 17-26, Mexico, 1877.)

Note 8, page 56

Bartolomé de Ledesma was a native of Nieva, near Ledesma, in the Bishopric of Salamanca. His father was Bernard de Ledesma, and his mother Juana Martín. In 1543 he entered the Dominican order, in the convent of San Esteban, Salamanca. When Montufar came to Mexico he brought Ledesma with him, and for the space of twelve years he retained him at his side as ecclesiastical governor. In 1566 he lectured on Theology at the University, and the following year was appointed Professor of Divinity; later he became Chancellor. He went to Lima in the year 1580 as confessor of Don Martín Enriquez, who had been appointed Viceroy of Peru, and while there was Professor of Divinity in the University of San Marcos. In 1581 he was appointed Bishop of Oaxaca, and returned to Mexico. He was reputed to be nearly one hundred years of age when he died in the City of Oaxaca on the 5th. March 1604. Ledesma was a man of great piety and erudition. He was the author of several treatises; one, *de Justitia et Jure*, was used in manuscript copies by the law students of the University. Other works which he had written were lost at sea on the journey from Lima to Mexico. The only printed book known is a Latin treatise

on the Sacraments, printed in Mexico in 1566. (For biographical notices of Ledesma see: *Libro tercero de la Historia Religiosa de la orden de Santo Domingo*, by Friar Hernando Ojea, p. 65; *Segunda parte de la Historia de la Provincia de Santiago de México*, by Friar Alonso Franco, pp. 175-178; Icazbalceta's *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI*, pp. 139-140; J. T. Medina's *La Imprenta en México*, Vol. I, pp. 153-161.)

Note 9, page 56

Esteban de Portillo was the son of a conquistador, and was born in Mexico. He was a Canon of the Cathedral, and afterwards Judge Provisor and Vicar General of the Archbishopric of Mexico. Archbishop Moya de Contreras, writing to Philip II in 1575, said he was 39 years of age, skilled in the Mexican language, studious, honest, serious and a friend of justice. (See: *Descripción del Arzobispado de México en 1570*, pp. 314-317; *Cartas de Indias*, p. 198; *Juan de Zumárraga*, by Joaquín García Icazbalceta, part II, p. 263.)

Note 10, page 70

Principal Chapel. Tomson in his narrative says, "upon the scaffold which was made before the High Altar", see page 12.

Note 11, page 70

Sambenito, see note 17, page 96.

Note 12, page 71

Hortuño de Ybarra was the Treasurer of the Ayuntamiento of México in 1557, and after the voyage to Spain, returned to his old duties, (*Actas de Cabildo*, Libro VI, 1550-1561; *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 145, 271, 272, 780). The early Spanish settlers in Mexico played many parts, e. g., Miguel López de Legaspi, the conqueror of the Philippines, occupied the position of Treasurer in Mexico City before setting out on his famous expedition.

Note 13, page 71

Agustín Boucio, see note 12, page 94.

Note 14, page 72

Auto de fe, see note 13, page 94.

VI.
NOTES ON
MEXICO CITY IN 1560

Notes on Mexico City in 1560

(Pages 78-86)

Note 1, page 78

Dialogues in Latin. Cervantes de Salazar (1514 ?-1575) refers to three of the Latin dialogues which he wrote in Mexico in 1554. Only one copy of the book containing these dialogues is known. Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta's description of this copy in his *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI*, freely translated and slightly abbreviated, is as follows:

22. *Cervantes Salazar (Francisco) Dialogues.* The title page is missing, being replaced by hand as follows: "Commentaria en Ludovici Vives (sic) Exercitationes Linguae Latinae. Mexici, apud Joannem Paulem Brisensem. 1554." On page a ij, the first of the copy, is the dedication to the University. On page i ij is a brief life of Luis Vives. The text of the Dialogues of Vives with the commentary of Cervantes Salazar begins on folio 4 and ends on folio 227. The back of folio 227 is blank. On the front of folio 228 is the special title page of the Dialogues which Cervantes Salazar added to those of Vives. It reads as follows:

"Francisci Cervantis Salazaris, Toletani, ad Ludovici Vivis, Valentini, Exercitationem, aliquot Dialogi, 1554." The dedication to Archbishop Montúfar occupies the back of the title page and the whole of folio 229. Then follow the four dialogues: *Saltus; Ludus Sphaerae per anulum ferreum; Obeliscorum, sive lignearum pyramidularum Ludus*, and *Pilae Palmariæ Ludus*, composed by Cervantes in Spain, which terminate almost at the end of the back of folio 247. On this same folio commence the other three dialogues written in Mexico, viz:

1st: *Academia Mexicana.* Description of the University of Mexico, founded in the previous year, with mention of its professors, the subjects which they taught, the order of the studies and literary exercises. The interlocutors are *Mesa* and *Gutierrez*; the former a resident of Mexico, and the latter a new arrival from Spain. The dialogue terminates on folio 257.

2nd: *Civitas mexicus interior.* Two residents, *Zamora* and *Zuazo*, set out, accompanied by a new arrival, *Alfaro*, to make an excursion through the city, describing it as they go along. This dialogue is the most extensive of all, reaching as it does to folio 279 (front).

3rd: *Mexicus exterior.* The same interlocutors set out on a

trip to Chapultepec, which affords motive for a description of the environs of the city and some particulars of New Spain, and the customs of the native Indians. The dialogue ends at folio 290 (back). In the copy described, folio 289 is missing.

The book ends with four unnumbered folios, which comprise: an epistle from Alfonso Gomez, a pupil of Cervantes; the table of errata of the Commentary to Vives, and another of the Dialogues added by Cervantes; a letter from the printer, Juan Pablos, and the following colophon:

IMPOSITVS EST FINIS
huic operi, anno ab asserto in liber-
tatem genere humano, mille-
simo quingentessimo
quinquagessimo
quarto. Die
vero
sexta: mensis
Novem-
bris

EX COMMISSIONE PROR
regis & Archiepiscopi Mexicani, proba-
tum est opus, Doctori Matheo Sedeño
Arevalo, Decretorum interpreti, & Ma-
gistro Alfonso a vera Cruce Theologiae
primario moderatori, Mexici anno men-
se & die vt supra.

The copy described was in the possession of Icazbalceta, whose famous library is now carefully preserved in Mexico City by his son, Señor Don Luis García Pimentel. The three dialogues relating to Mexico were reprinted by Icazbalceta in 1875, with the following title: MEXICO EN 1554—Tres Diálogos Latinos—que—Francisco Cervantes Salazar—escribió é imprimió en México—en dicho año—Los reimprime con traducción castellana—y notas—Joaquin García Icazbalceta—Mexico—Antigua Librería de Andrade y Morales—Portal de los Agustinos núm. 3—1875.

Pages *i* to *l* and 1-344—octavo; 165 numbered copies on ordinary paper and 15 on large paper.

This reprint and translation, which has now become very scarce, is indispensable to students of the first century of the Spanish colonization of New Spain. Apart from the Dialogues, Icazbalceta's learned introductory chapters and voluminous notes are invaluable. The Dialogues in Spanish and some of the Notes were reprinted in the collected edition of the "Obras de D. J. García Icazbalceta", Vol. VI. (Mexico 1898), but the reprint is marred by a number of inaccuracies. For biographical information regarding Cervantes de Salazar, nearly all that is known will be found in Icazbalceta's works already quoted. See also J. T. Medina *La Imprenta de Mexico*, Vol. I. and *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*, Vols. I & VI.; *Les Colloques Scolaires du Seizieme Siecle et leurs Auteurs*, by L. Massebieau (Paris 1878); *Crónica de la Nueva España*, by Cervantes de Salazar, Vol. I, edited by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, whose introduction to this incomplete edition gives much interesting biographical and bibliographical information; *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía*, Tomo I. (Cuarta Epoca, Mexico, 1923) pp. 497-517; *Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, Biographical Notes*, by Zelia Nuttall, *Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris*. Vol. XIII. p. 59-90 (Paris 1921).

Note 2, page 79

The old cathedral church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was built about 1525 and occupied the site that was, until recently, the atrium of the great modern cathedral. It was erected, with its principal entrance facing west, near the temple enclosure of the old Teocalli, from which the huge idols were taken and used as the bases for the columns of the new church, so that, as Father Duran said: "in order that the strong and insuperable column of our sacred religion may trample them down for ever." (*Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*, Vol. II., p. 83). By a Papal Bull dated 9th. September 1530, it was elevated to the rank of a cathedral and was created a Metropolitan church in 1547.

Due to its small dimensions and poor architecture, it was from its early days regarded as a temporary structure. Friar Toribio de Motolinia, writing to the Emperor Carlos V. in January 1555, said to him: "In addition to this, the high church of Mexico is very poor, old and patched up, in spite of its having been built only 29 years,—a reason for your Majesty that building should be commenced and encouraged, as of all the churches in New Spain it is the head." (See *Col. Doc.*, Icazbalceta: Vol. I. p. 266).

Cervantes Salazar, in his *Dialogues* written in 1554, had already referred to the meanness of the old church. *Alfaro* asks: "What church is that which is to be seen in the middle of the plaza?

Zamora: It is the cathedral dedicated to the Virgin Mary.
Alfaro: What sayest thou? Is that where the Archbishop

and Chapter celebrate the divine offices, in the presence of the Viceroy, of the Judges of the Royal Audiencia, and of all the residents?

Zuazo: Certainly; and nowhere is God worshipped with more fervour.

Alfaro: 'Tis a pity that a city whose fame no other attains, with such wealthy inhabitants, should have raised in so conspicuous a site a temple so small. In Toledo, for example, one of the noblest of cities, there is nothing which distinguishes it so much as its noble cathedral. Seville, that most opulent of towns, is ennobled by its sublime and magnificent temple. Even in the villages, the churches are so notable, and so superior to the other buildings as always to be the most striking sight in the place.

Zamora: Due to the inadequacy of the church revenues it has not been possible to build a church which should correspond to the grandeur of the city, the more so as the diocese has lacked a prelate during these past five years. But it now having Friar Alonso de Montúfar, a pastor equally eminent in religion and letters, there are great hopes that what you desire will come to pass."

The foundations of the modern cathedral were laid in 1573. It was partly completed in 1626, when the old cathedral was demolished, but it was not formally dedicated until the 1st. February, 1656, its construction having been interrupted by inundations and other causes from time to time. (For the best modern description of the old and new cathedrals see *Iglesias de México*, Vol. II, *La Catedral*

de México by Manuel Toussaint, Publicaciones de la Secretaría de Hacienda.—México, 1924.)

Note 3, page 79

Cervantes' description of the plaza shows that he regarded it as bounded by the Calle de Tacuba on the north, and by the Municipal buildings on the south. The area therefore was about nineteen and a half acres. If we take the limits of the northern boundary of the modern plaza to the cathedral enclosure, its present area is about eleven acres. For the various changes that have taken place since 1521, see the plan prepared by Señor Don Manuel F. Álvarez in 1914, a reproduction of which is shown on p. 57, Vol. III. of the *Historia de la Iglesia en México* by Mariano Cuevas. An interesting plan of the plaza and its surroundings as it was in Cervantes' time is described in the *Relación descriptiva de los mapas, planos, &c. de México y Floridas existentes en el Archivo General de Indias*, by Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, Seville, 1900. A reproduction and description of this Plan will also be found in *La Catedral de México* by Manuel Toussaint (p. 22), from which the illustration in this book has been copied. For a history of the plaza, see *La Plaza Mayor de la Ciudad de México* by Jesús Galindo y Villa. Vol. V, 3a. época, *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología*, México 1913.

Note 4, page 81

San Agustín. The street to which Cervantes refers, is that going south from the north-west corner of the present Municipal Palace and now known as *Calle de Cinco de Febrero*. In some old maps it is called *Calle de la Joya de San Agustín*.

The Augustine friars were the third Order to arrive in New Spain. To the number of seven, headed by Friar Francisco de la Cruz, they entered Mexico on the 7th. June, 1533. They were first lodged in the monastery of Santo Domingo, and afterwards in a house in Calle de Tacuba. On the 16th. June, the Municipal Council appointed Francisco de Santa Cruz and Lope de Samaniego, two of the regidores, to interview them in order to find out where they wished to establish their headquarters. On the 30th. of the same month, two of the friars presented themselves before the Council to request that their Order be assigned a site upon which to build a suitable residence. The Council apparently agreed to their request and appointed Gonzalez Ruiz and Antonio de Carbajal, to allot them a site (see *Actas de Cabildo*, Book III). The site granted them is that now occupied by the National Library and the adjoining properties extending eastwards as far as the street now known as *Cinco de Febrero*.

As work on the monastery was not started until the 28th. August, 1541, by that time they had obtained a Royal Warrant from Charles V., who ordered that they were to be given the tribute of a town to help the construction. The Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, designated that of Texcoco and ordered the townspeople to attend with their tributes at the Monastery of San Agustín with labourers for the work, the wages to be two reals for six days' work. The friars afterwards induced the king to assume the cost, and upon its construction one hundred and sixty-two thousand pesos were expended. The monastery and church were not finished until the year 1587. In 1676 the church was destroyed by fire, but was rebuilt, and the new one inaugurated in 1692.

When the monasteries and library were ransacked and was converted into the National buildings is now largely occupied by Icazbalceta, *Dialogos*, p. 248 *numental*, Vol. II. p. 208-221, co, 1882.)

Note

The Hospital de Nuestra Señora referred to by Robert Tomson

Note

The *Cu*, or temple, referred to by Dr. A. P. Maudslay as Jupiter. "This temple", says (107) "was built on the site after the palace, and if anyone who will see that it is all built of windows, but the ground floor

The Bishop's palace was the old palace was rebuilt between occupied by Government officials Vol. I. pp. 55-57; *The Great T* P. Maudslay, London, 1912.)

Note

Cervantes refers to the Hospital Charles V. accepted the patronage of Bishop Zumárraga. The Bishop 1541, stated that he had started because in the one which existed from buboes, -i. e. venereal hospital was incorporated with occupied the site of what is today near the corner of Calle de la (See Sigüenza y Gongora, *Pe* Icazbalceta, *Diálogos*, p. 202.)

Note

Balthasar Dorantes de Cárdenas says of Bernardino de Albornoz having arrived here a few years with his family, and of his own many years I was intimately favored by the grace of His Majesty, and of the Atarazanas [literally castle, where, in the big lagoon their magnificence the third conquer Mexico. The tenure for life-until the laudable customs and other most honorable of very good remuneration, privileges." (*op. cit.* p. 273) of Paradines, in the Bishopric

asteries were suppressed in 1861 its treasures
ransacked and destroyed, and in 1867 the church
the National Library. The site of the monastic,
largely occupied by business premises. (See
gos, p. 248; *Mexico Artistico, Pintoresco y Mo-*
p. 208-221, by Manuel Rivera Cambas, Mexi-

Note 5, page 81

le Nuestra Señora is the Hospital of Our Lady
ert Tomson (p. 34). See Note 4, Page 102.

Note 6, page 81

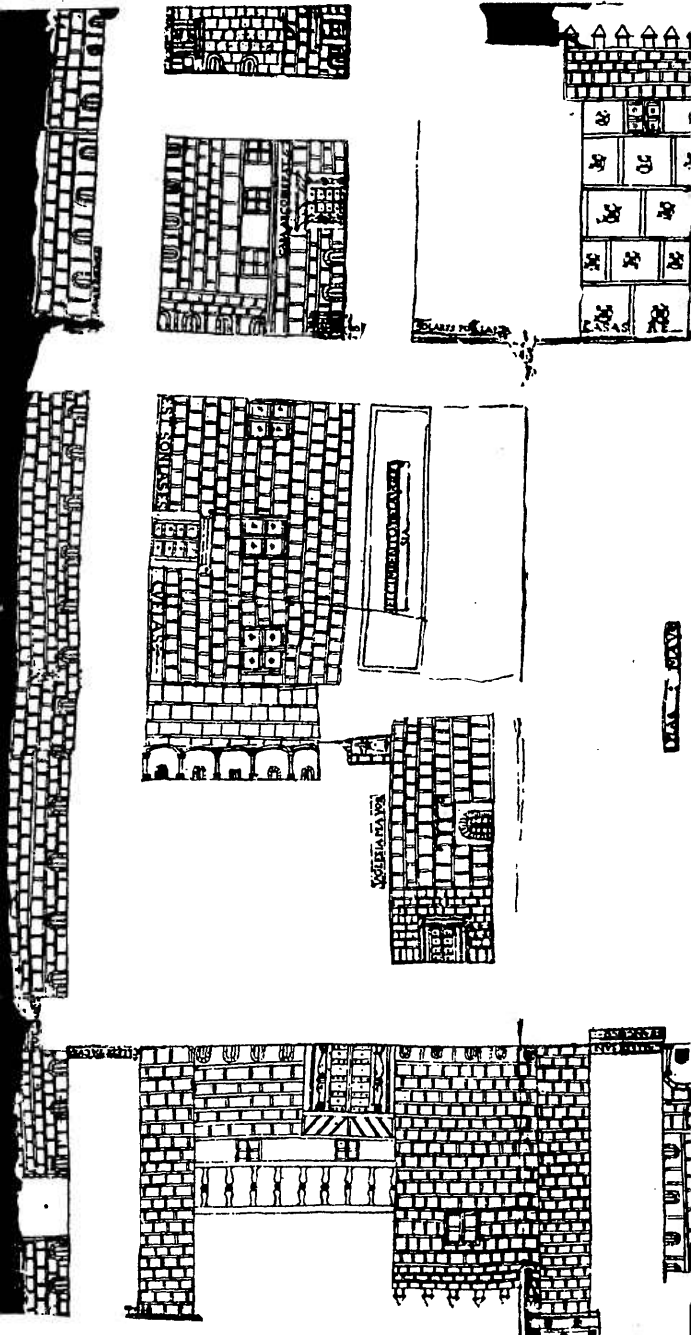
ple, referred to by Cervantes has been identified
Audslay as that of Tezcatlipoca, the Mexican
ple", says Father Duran (op. cit. Vol. II p.
the site after wards occupied by the Archbishop's
one who enters it will take careful notice, he
s all built on a terrace without any lower
round floor all solid."
palace was built in the years 1530-1531. The
built between 1730 and 1747, and is to-day
rnment offices. (See Ribera Cambas, op. cit.
The Great Temple Enclosure of Tenochtitlan by A.
don, 1912.)

Note 7, page 81

rs to the Hospital of Amor de Dios, of which
ed the patronage in 1540. It was founded by
u. The Bishop, in a document dated 13th May
had started this hospital some years before
e which existed in Mexico patients suffering
. venereal diseases-were not received. The
porated with that of San Andres in 1788. It
f what is to-day the Academy of San Carlos,
Calle de la Moneda and Calle de la Academia.
ongora, *Piedad Her6ica*, Chap. 2; quoted by
os, p. 202.)

Note 8, page 81

antes de Carranza, in his *Sumaria Relaci6n*,
o de Albornoz: "He was one of the old settlers,
e a few years after the conquest. The record of
f his own private life, was very clean. For
intimately acquainted with him. He was, by
ajesty, an Alderman of this city, and Governor
[literally *arsenal*], which was a fortress or
e big lagoon, were kept as a memento and for
the thirteen brigantines which served to
The tenure of the high office of Governor was
audable custom was changed. For this office
norable ones, he received from His Majesty
eration, as also many exemptions and
it. p. 273). Don Bernardino was a native
e Bishopric of Avila, in Spain, and belonged





to a distinguished family. Apparently he lived to a great age, as the writer finds from a manuscript in his possession that he gave evidence before the Inquisition in 1585 regarding the purity of the lineage of Gregorio Romano, a half-brother of Friar Diego Romano, the Bishop of Tlaxcala. He describes himself in that document as seventy-six years of age. He was elected a *regidor* of the city on the 16th. December 1541, and in the *Actas de Cabildo* of the Municipality of Mexico we find his name and signature almost without a break between that year and 1587.

The site of the *Atarazanas* is shown on the map of Alonso de Santa Cruz (1560) at the edge of the lake, to the extreme east of the continuation of Calle de Tacuba, and its probable site was in the San Lazaro district of the modern city. Cortes, in his fourth letter to Charles V., written from Mexico on the 25th October 1524, describes the *Atarazanas* as follows:

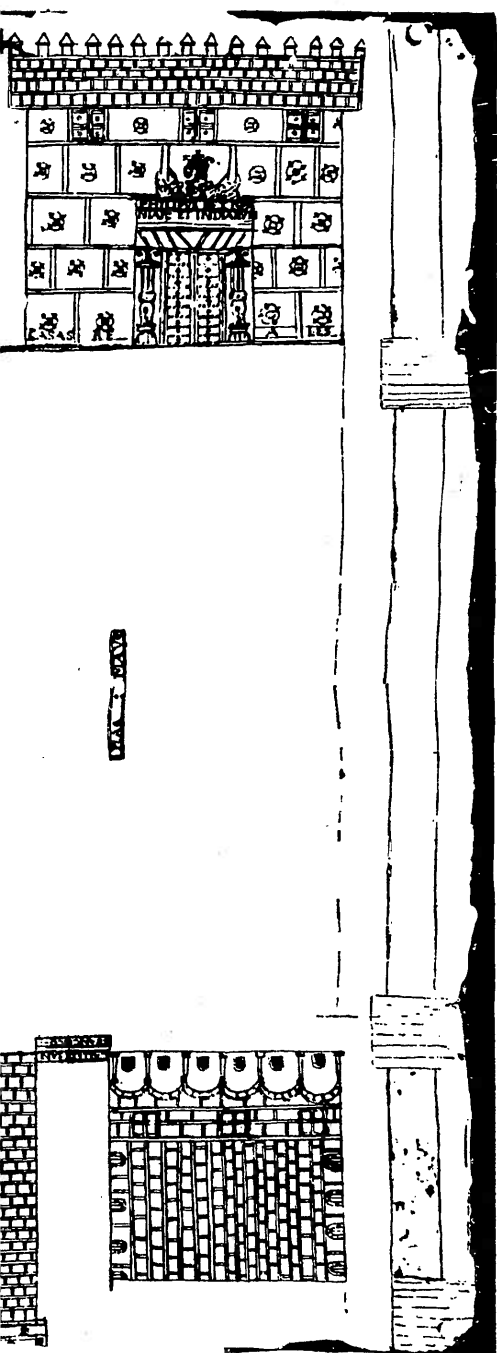
"Immediately after the capture of this city, I took steps to establish a fort in the water where the brigantines might be kept safely, and from where I might control the whole city should there be any occasion for it, and the exit and entrance remain in my hands. It was constructed in such wise that, although I have seen some forts and arsenals, I have seen none that equals it, and many others affirm the same as myself; and it has been built in this wise: on the side towards the lake, it has two very strong towers, provided with loop-holes: these two towers are joined by a building in the form of three naves, where brigantines are kept, and which have doors towards the water for going in and out; and all this building is provided also with loop-holes, and on the end towards the city there is another large tower, with many rooms above and below, for offensive and defensive operations. But, as I shall send a plan to Your Majesty to make this more clearly understood, I shall give no more particulars about it, but, holding these with the ships and artillery, peace or war is in our hands as we choose. Once this building was finished, everything seemed secure for re-peopling the city, so I returned there with all my people, and distributed plots of ground to the householders; and to each of those who had been conquerors, I gave, in the name of Your Highness, a plot of ground in recompense for their services, besides the one they received as citizens." (*The Letters of Cortes to Charles V.*, by Francis A. Macnutt, Vol. II, p. 202).

Note 9, page 81

Martin Lopez was a native of Seville. Bernal Díaz, in his *True History of the Conquest of Mexico*, refers to him as "Martin Lopez, a good soldier, who was the shipwright who built the thirteen launches which were of such great help in capturing Mexico, and served his Majesty very well as a soldier, still lives [in 1568] in Mexico." (See translation by A. P. Maudslay, Hakluyt Society, Vol. V. p. 231.)

In 1540, Martin Lopez addressed a petition to the Viceroy asking for an enquiry into the merits of his services. The writer has in his possession an unpublished manuscript which contains a report of the evidence given at this enquiry by a number of conquistadors. The following are translations of some extracts from this document, and they will be found to throw additional light on the value of his achievements in the conquest of the City of Mexico in 1521:

In the City of Tenoxtitlan Mexico, on the tenth day of the



PLAN OF THE PLAZA MAYOR, MEXICO ABOUT 1564.

[See p. 111.]

month of March of the year one thousand five hundred and forty, to the worshipful President and Judges of the Royal Audiencia of New Spain. In a session at which was present the undersigned, Antonio de Turcios, Scrivener of our Sovereign Lord the King, there was presented on behalf of Martin Lopez, conquistador, a resident of this city, a petition and interrogatory in the following tenor:

Very powerful Sir. I, Martin Lopez, beg to present the following petition and interrogatory, in accordance with the provisions of the Royal Warrant, ordering the holding of an enquiry to ascertain the merits of the personal services which I have rendered to his Majesty, with the request that this application be admitted by this Royal Audiencia and the evidence taken in the terms of the interrogatory, on the understanding that what I ask is simple justice, and I am prepared to furnish any additional proof which may be deemed necessary, and I request that the Fiscal be present at the enquiry.

I. That the witnesses be asked if they are acquainted with the said Martin Lopez and if they know of the brigantines, of which four were burned, and the caravel, which by his efforts was built and afterwards set up ready to sail in the Villa Rica Vieja, he having no knowledge of shipbuilding, but being merely active and ingenious.

II. *Item.* If they know that at the instance and request of Fernando Cortes, when sorely beset and impeded in his work of prosecuting the Conquest, the said Martin Lopez drew plans for making four brigantines and for bringing up the caravel in sections and re-building it: let the witnesses say what they know on this point.

III. *Item.* If they know that at the time the said Fernando Cortes set out in the fleet of Diego Velasquez to conquer this country, the said Martin Lopez accompanied him fully armed and equipped, and taking with him in his service three Spanish servants and a large quantity of merchandise, wines and clothing, and other necessary gear, and that at his table ate three or four of the poor conquistadors.

IV. *Item.* If they know that from the time they disembarked at the port, until this kingdom was conquered and peace prevailed, he had always fought valiantly and received many wounds, as he had ever been the first in the fray: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

V. *Item.* If they know that when the conquistadors fled from the City of Mexico on the night known as the "Noche Triste", he received four dangerous wounds, of which he was like to die: let them declare what they know about this.

VI. *Item.* If they know that when in Tlaxcalteca [Tlaxcala] the aforesaid Marquis [Cortes], planning to return to the City of Mexico, which had been lost, consulted with the aforesaid Martin Lopez as to the best way to re-capture it, whereupon the latter said that it was his opinion that they should build a number of brigantines, by means of which they might enter and conquer the city by water: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

VII. *Item.* If they know that, the above advice having seemed good to the Marquis del Valle, he instructed Martin Lopez to order the building with all speed of thirteen brigantines: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

VIII. *Item.* If they know that as it was in the service of God Our Lord and of the King, the said Martin Lopez went personally with his servants to the forest to obtain the timber for the said

brigantines, and brought it to the City of Tlaxcalteca, where he ordered the vessels to be built and set up, he himself labouring with the workmen, by which means they were rapidly finished: let the witnesses say what they know about this.

IX. *Item.* If they know that after they were built they tried them in Tlaxcalteca, launching them in a river to ascertain their sailing qualities, and that afterwards they took them to pieces and carried them to the city of Texcoco, which is on the borders of the lake of the same name: let them say what they know about this.

X. *Item.* If they know that in the said city of Texcoco, at the water's edge, the said Martin Lopez obliged his men to erect the said brigantines with all haste so that they might be launched: let them declare what they know about this.

XI. *Item.* If they know that the carpenters and other persons who worked in the construction of the brigantines, both those that did the cutting of the wood in the forests and the fashioning, and those who transported them to Tlaxcalteca and set them up in Texcoco, were supplied with everything necessary, wine, vinegar, oil, etcetera, without in any manner being assisted by the Marquis, during the time taken for the construction, which was over a year: let them declare what they know about this.

XII. *Item.* If they know that while the said Martin Lopez was engaged on the construction of the brigantines the Marquis never came near the work, except it might be occasionally in search of food for himself and his people: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XIII. *Item.* If they know that while the said Martin Lopez was engaged in this building, his work was worth, at the rate of wages prevailing, twelve gold ducats a day: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XIV. *Item.* If they know that before and after the building of the brigantines, the Marquis del Valle offered to make him a marquis, or a count, and to give him very large rentals for the glorious victory which had been achieved, thanks to the brigantines, whereby the city which was head of the Mexican empire had been gained: let them declare what they know about this.

XV. *Item.* If they had seen the said Martin Lopez obtain money for the clothing and wines and other supplies which he had brought from Castille, and if they had heard him declare that all of it was brought for the service of the King, on whose account he had lent a number of pesos to the Marquis del Valle: let them declare what they know about this.

XVI. *Item.* If they know that he brought with him three servants, who were carpenters, from Rivera, to whom he paid a higher wage than they could have obtained in the Kingdom of Castille, because he knew that they would be useful in the prosecution of the Conquest: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XVII. *Item.* If they know that the said Martin Lopez occupied in the building of the brigantines two servants of his own, who were carpenters, called respectively Miguel and Pedro de Mafía, these being artisans who understood the work, and that both were killed in the battle that took place at the capture of the city, as also a cousin of his that he brought with him: let them declare what they know about this.

XVIII. *Item.* If they know that on many and divers occasions Francisco García, Francisco de Solís, Francisco de Terraza, Bernardino Vazquez de Tapia and others had gathered together

and declared that he deserved a great reward for the splendid work he had done in the building of the brigantines, and that it would be none too much for the King to give him a title of rank for having captured the City of Mexico: let them declare what they know about this.

XIX. *Item.* If they know that nothing has been given to him as a reward for his work in the building of the brigantines, as the *encomienda* of the town of Tequixquiac was a small thing, and such as was given to any conquistador: let them declare what they know about this.

XX. *Item.* If they know that on the night known as the 'Noche Triste', after the fighting in which eight hundred men were lost, the Marquis, while a roll call was being taken, asked his captains if Martin Lopez was alive, and on their replying in the affirmative, expressed his great satisfaction, as he was a very valiant man and of good counsel and strategy: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XXI. *Item.* If they know that on the flagship [*la capitana*] being assailed by five thousand canoes, which obliged her commander and some of his soldiers to abandon her, Martin Lopez, perceiving this, with his sword and shield defended it against a number of Indians who were already inside, throwing them into the water and killing with a cross-bow the chief who directed the canoes, which thereupon surrendered or fled: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XXII. *Item.* If they know that after the said canoes had surrendered, with a large number of Indians in them, he entered into the city, followed by the other brigantines, and jumping ashore at the Plaza raised the standard, crying "Victory, Victory for the King of Spain", after which all freely entered: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XXIII. *Item.* If they know that the said Martin Lopez, on horse and afoot, by sea and on land, from the day on which he entered, until the whole city and all the other provinces had been captured and pacified, served at his own cost, and was one of those who served well: let them declare what they know about this.

XXIV. *Item.* If they know that invariably at the discovery of each of the provinces of this country he [Martin Lopez] was one of those whom the Marquis sent to conquer it, the Marquis saying to Martin Lopez that it was in the service of God and of the King: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XXV. *Item.* If they know that the said Martin Lopez brought his wife from the Kingdoms of Spain, making a home for her in this City, and that he continues to provide her a home here: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XXVI. *Item.* If they know that by command of the President and Judges of the Audiencia he went to the conquest of Nueva Galicia with the President, Nuño de Guzman, with five horses and two negroes, and was in the said conquest for more than two years: let them declare what they know about this.

XXVII. *Item.* If they know that the said Marquis, Don Fernando Cortes, has charged his Majesty thirty thousand ducats of gold which he said he had spent in the building of the brigantines: let them declare what they know about this.

XXVIII. *Item.* If they know that, apart from the will of God, the principal factor in the conquest of the city was the said brigantines, and that without them the city could not have been captured: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XXIX. *Item.* If they know that at the time the brigantines were built,

there was no other person of all those who came out [from Spain] of sufficient skill and ingenuity to plan them, or sufficiently daring to set them up at the water's edge, than Martin Lopez, which is public and notorious: let them declare what they know about this.

XXX. *Item.* If they know that the aforesaid, and each part thereof, and all of it, is also public and notorious in this New Spain.

(Signed) MARTIN LOPEZ,

Conquistador.

And the said petition and interrogatory having been presented in the foregoing manner, the President and Judges ordered that the necessary affidavits be taken and received, as requested by the said Martin Lopez. His Lordship the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, as President of the said Royal Audiencia, appointed Doctor Montealegre, judge of the said Royal Audiencia, as the person before whom the affidavits are to be made, his Majesty's Fiscal to be cited for the purpose, all of which was done.

(Signed) ANTONIO DE TURCIOS.

In the City of Mexico, on the fifteenth day of the month of May, of the year one thousand five hundred and forty, I, Antonio de Turcios, in due legal form, cite to this interrogatory, Licenciado Benavides, his Majesty's Fiscal in this New Spain, to the end that he may take the oath of, and know the witnesses presented on the part of the Conquistador Martin Lopez, which citation the said Fiscal said that he heard, the witnesses being Gerónimo Lopez and Sancho Lopez de Agurto, residents of this city.

Citation.

(Signed) ANTONIO DE TURCIOS.

In the City of Mexico, on the twentieth day of May of the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand five hundred and forty, Martin Lopez presented as witness in the enquiry into his services which is being carried on before Doctor Montealegre, who has been commissioned to examine witnesses by Royal Warrant, Bernardino Vasquez de Tapia, a resident of this city, who being sworn in due and lawful manner, by God, Our Lord, and upon the Crucifix, and questioned in the tenor of the interrogatory, said and deposed the following:

Witness,
Bernardino
Vasquez of
this city.

To the first question, he replied that he knew Martin Lopez and had heard of and seen the brigantines, the first four, and later the thirteen others, and also the caravel which he set up in the shipyard in Villa Rica Vieja, without being an artisan or having worked at the trade, but rather a man inspired by Heaven for such an heroic work as was the building.

To the statutory questions that were put to him, he replied that his age was fifty years, more or less, and that he was not debarred in any way from giving evidence in the case.

To the second question, he replied that the Marquis del Valle, being perplexed at seeing the city surrounded by water, and being unable to enter it because the Indians in the causeways dug great holes and threw up ramparts, spoke with witness in regard to the matter of the ships, and the lack of any person acquainted with the trade of carpentry, and after discussing the subject at length, the Marquis called a council of his captains, who were of opinion that the said Martin Lopez should build them because he was very intelligent and had two servants who understood the work, and this being made known to the Marquis, he summoned

month of March of the year one thousand five hundred and forty, to the worshipful President and Judges of the Royal Audiencia of New Spain. In a session at which was present the undersigned, Antonio de Turcios, Scrivener of our Sovereign Lord the King, there was presented on behalf of Martin Lopez, conquistador, a resident of this city, a petition and interrogatory in the following tenor:

Very powerful Sir. I, Martin Lopez, beg to present the following petition and interrogatory, in accordance with the provisions of the Royal Warrant, ordering the holding of an enquiry to ascertain the merits of the personal services which I have rendered to his Majesty, with the request that this application be admitted by this Royal Audiencia and the evidence taken in the terms of the interrogatory, on the understanding that what I ask is simple justice, and I am prepared to furnish any additional proof which may be deemed necessary, and I request that the Fiscal be present at the enquiry.

I. That the witnesses be asked if they are acquainted with the said Martin Lopez and if they know of the brigantines, of which four were burned, and the caravel, which by his efforts was built and afterwards set up ready to sail in the Villa Rica Vieja, he having no knowledge of shipbuilding, but being merely active and ingenious.

II. *Item.* If they know that at the instance and request of Fernando Cortes, when sorely beset and impeded in his work of prosecuting the Conquest, the said Martin Lopez drew plans for making four brigantines and for bringing up the caravel in sections and re-building it: let the witnesses say what they know on this point.

III. *Item.* If they know that at the time the said Fernando Cortes set out in the fleet of Diego Velasquez to conquer this country, the said Martin Lopez accompanied him fully armed and equipped, and taking with him in his service three Spanish servants and a large quantity of merchandise, wines and clothing, and other necessary gear, and that at his table ate three or four of the poor conquistadors.

IV. *Item.* If they know that from the time they disembarked at the port, until this kingdom was conquered and peace prevailed, he had always fought valiantly and received many wounds, as he had ever been the first in the fray: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

V. *Item.* If they know that when the conquistadors fled from the City of Mexico on the night known as the "Noche Triste", he received four dangerous wounds, of which he was like to die: let them declare what they know about this.

VI. *Item.* If they know that when in Tlaxcalteca [Tlaxcala] the aforesaid Marquis [Cortes], planning to return to the City of Mexico, which had been lost, consulted with the aforesaid Martin Lopez as to the best way to re-capture it, whereupon the latter said that it was his opinion that they should build a number of brigantines, by means of which they might enter and conquer the city by water: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

VII. *Item.* If they know that, the above advice having seemed good to the Marquis del Valle, he instructed Martin Lopez to order the building with all speed of thirteen brigantines: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

VIII. *Item.* If they know that as it was in the service of God Our Lord and of the King, the said Martin Lopez went personally with his servants to the forest to obtain the timber for the said

brigantines, and brought it to the City of Tlaxcalteca, where he ordered the vessels to be built and set up, he himself labouring with the workmen, by which means they were rapidly finished: let the witnesses say what they know about this.

IX. *Item.* If they know that after they were built they tried them in Tlaxcalteca, launching them in a river to ascertain their sailing qualities, and that afterwards they took them to pieces and carried them to the city of Texcoco, which is on the borders of the lake of the same name: let them say what they know about this.

X. *Item.* If they know that in the said city of Texcoco, at the water's edge, the said Martin Lopez obliged his men to erect the said brigantines with all haste so that they might be launched: let them declare what they know about this.

XI. *Item.* If they know that the carpenters and other persons who worked in the construction of the brigantines, both those that did the cutting of the wood in the forests and the fashioning, and those who transported them to Tlaxcalteca and set them up in Texcoco, were supplied with everything necessary, wine, vinegar, oil, etcetera, without in any manner being assisted by the Marquis, during the time taken for the construction, which was over a year: let them declare what they know about this.

XII. *Item.* If they know that while the said Martin Lopez was engaged on the construction of the brigantines the Marquis never came near the work, except it might be occasionally in search of food for himself and his people: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XIII. *Item.* If they know that while the said Martin Lopez was engaged in this building, his work was worth, at the rate of wages prevailing, twelve gold ducats a day: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XIV. *Item.* If they know that before and after the building of the brigantines, the Marquis del Valle offered to make him a marquis, or a count, and to give him very large rentals for the glorious victory which had been achieved, thanks to the brigantines, whereby the city which was head of the Mexican empire had been gained: let them declare what they know about this.

XV. *Item.* If they had seen the said Martin Lopez obtain money for the clothing and wines and other supplies which he had brought from Castille, and if they had heard him declare that all of it was brought for the service of the King, on whose account he had lent a number of pesos to the Marquis del Valle: let them declare what they know about this.

XVI. *Item.* If they know that he brought with him three servants, who were carpenters, from Rivera, to whom he paid a higher wage than they could have obtained in the Kingdom of Castille, because he knew that they would be useful in the prosecution of the Conquest: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XVII. *Item.* If they know that the said Martin Lopez occupied in the building of the brigantines two servants of his own, who were carpenters, called respectively Miguel and Pedro de Mafla, these being artisans who understood the work, and that both were killed in the battle that took place at the capture of the city, as also a cousin of his that he brought with him: let them declare what they know about this.

XVIII. *Item.* If they know that on many and divers occasions Francisco García, Francisco de Solís, Francisco de Terraza, Bernardino Vazquez de Tapia and others had gathered together

and declared that he deserved a great reward for the splendid work he had done in the building of the brigantines, and that it would be none too much for the King to give him a title of rank for having captured the City of Mexico: let them declare what they know about this.

XIX. *Item.* If they know that nothing has been given to him as a reward for his work in the building of the brigantines, as the *encomienda* of the town of Tequixquiac was a small thing, and such as was given to any conquistador: let them declare what they know about this.

XX. *Item.* If they know that on the night known as the "Noche Triste", after the fighting in which eight hundred men were lost, the Marquis, while a roll call was being taken, asked his captains if Martin Lopez was alive, and on their replying in the affirmative, expressed his great satisfaction, as he was a very valiant man and of good counsel and strategy: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XXI. *Item.* If they know that on the flagship [*la capitana*] being assailed by five thousand canoes, which obliged her commander and some of his soldiers to abandon her, Martin Lopez, perceiving this, with his sword and shield defended it against a number of Indians who were already inside, throwing them into the water and killing with a cross-bow the chief who directed the canoes, which thereupon surrendered or fled: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XXII. *Item.* If they know that after the said canoes had surrendered, with a large number of Indians in them, he entered into the city, followed by the other brigantines, and jumping ashore at the Plaza raised the standard, crying "Victory, Victory for the King of Spain", after which all freely entered: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XXIII. *Item.* If they know that the said Martin Lopez, on horse and afoot, by sea and on land, from the day on which he entered, until the whole city and all the other provinces had been captured and pacified, served at his own cost, and was one of those who served well: let them declare what they know about this.

XXIV. *Item.* If they know that invariably at the discovery of each of the provinces of this country he [Martin Lopez] was one of those whom the Marquis sent to conquer it, the Marquis saying to Martin Lopez that it was in the service of God and of the King: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XXV. *Item.* If they know that the said Martin Lopez brought his wife from the Kingdoms of Spain, making a home for her in this City, and that he continues to provide her a home here: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XXVI. *Item.* If they know that by command of the President and Judges of the Audiencia he went to the conquest of Nueva Galicia with the President, Nuño de Guzman, with five horses and two negroes, and was in the said conquest for more than two years: let them declare what they know about this.

XXVII. *Item.* If they know that the said Marquis, Don Fernando Cortes, has charged his Majesty thirty thousand ducats of gold which he said he had spent in the building of the brigantines: let them declare what they know about this.

XXVIII. *Item.* If they know that, apart from the will of God, the principal factor in the conquest of the city was the said brigantines, and that without them the city could not have been captured: let the witnesses declare what they know about this.

XXIX. *Item.* If they know that at the time the brigantines were built,

there was no other person of all those who came out [from Spain] of sufficient skill and ingenuity to plan them, or sufficiently daring to set them up at the water's edge, than Martin Lopez, which is public and notorious: let them declare what they know about this.

XXX. *Item.* If they know that the aforesaid, and each part thereof, and all of it, is also public and notorious in this New Spain.

(Signed) MARTIN LOPEZ,

Conquistador.

And the said petition and interrogatory having been presented in the foregoing manner, the President and Judges ordered that the necessary affidavits be taken and received, as requested by the said Martin Lopez. His Lordship the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, as President of the said Royal Audiencia, appointed Doctor Montealegre, judge of the said Royal Audiencia, as the person before whom the affidavits are to be made, his Majesty's Fiscal to be cited for the purpose, all of which was done.

(Signed) ANTONIO DE TURCIOS.

In the City of Mexico, on the fifteenth day of the month of May, of the year one thousand five hundred and forty, I, Antonio de Turcios, in due legal form, cite to this interrogatory, Licenciado Benavides, his Majesty's Fiscal in this New Spain, to the end that he may take the oath of, and know the witnesses presented on the part of the Conquistador Martin Lopez, which citation the said Fiscal said that he heard, the witnesses being Gerónimo Lopez and Sancho Lopez de Agurto, residents of this city.

Citation.

(Signed) ANTONIO DE TURCIOS.

In the City of Mexico, on the twentieth day of May of the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand five hundred and forty, Martin Lopez presented as witness in the enquiry into his services which is being carried on before Doctor Montealegre, who has been commissioned to examine witnesses by Royal Warrant, Bernardino Vasquez de Tapia, a resident of this city, who being sworn in due and lawful manner, by God, Our Lord, and upon the Crucifix, and questioned in the tenor of the interrogatory, said and deposed the following:

Witness,
Bernardino
Vasquez of
this city.

To the first question, he replied that he knew Martin Lopez and had heard of and seen the brigantines, the first four, and later the thirteen others, and also the caravel which he set up in the shipyard in Villa Rica Vieja, without being an artisan or having worked at the trade, but rather a man inspired by Heaven for such an heroic work as was the building.

To the statutory questions that were put to him, he replied that his age was fifty years, more or less, and that he was not debarred in any way from giving evidence in the case.

To the second question, he replied that the Marquis del Valle, being perplexed at seeing the city surrounded by water, and being unable to enter it because the Indians in the causeways dug great holes and threw up ramparts, spoke with witness in regard to the matter of the ships, and the lack of any person acquainted with the trade of carpentry, and after discussing the subject at length, the Marquis called a council of his captains, who were of opinion that the said Martin Lopez should build them because he was very intelligent and had two servants who understood the work, and this being made known to the Marquis, he summoned

the said Martin Lopez and asked him with his people to build four brigantines, which, when done, were considered to be very suitable by the Marquis, who rejoiced greatly and commissioned him to go to the Villa Rica Vieja and build and arm a caravel in the shipyard, which he did, being occupied in the work for many days.

To the third question, he replied that he, witness, knew that the said Martin Lopez came out in the fleet of Diego Velasques with Don Fernando Cortes, and was personally very well armed and equipped and brought three servants and much merchandise, because he was rich and thus able to bring wines, clothing, and other supplies mentioned in the question, and always poor men ate with him, and when they had finished their meal he would ask them to come again to his table and would commend them to God.

To the fourth question, he replied that the said Martin Lopez was very daring, being always in the forefront of the battle, and as a result of his valour had received many wounds, having served as a soldier from the beginning of the Conquest until the present day.

To the fifth question, he replied that what was therein contained was true, and that only careful treatment and the will of God saved him from dying of his wounds, which were dangerous.

To the sixth question, he replied that he knew that the said Marquis, feeling very grieved at not having captured the city and for the loss of more than eight hundred soldiers during the retreat, without whom it would be very difficult to retake the city, called a council of his captains and other men of mark and experience, and among them the said Martin Lopez, who proposed that they should enter by water, as being safer and a better way to attack the enemy, which appeared good to all, whereupon the Marquis asked the said Martin Lopez to undertake the building of thirteen brigantines, which he accepted and proceeded to build.

To the seventh question, he replied that he referred to the preceding question.

To the eighth question, he replied that the said Martin Lopez having decided what was necessary, went to the forests for timber with great activity, the witness having seen him, and had heard him say that the work had to be very well done, because it was in the service of God and his King; and after being absent for many days, he brought to the City of Tlaxcalteca the planks and beams at great cost and effort, and started forthwith the work of construction, to the end that it might be finished in the shortest possible time.

To the ninth question, he replied that he knows that the said Martin Lopez first put together and tested the brigantines in Tlaxcalteca, and that he afterwards had them dismantled and taken apart in order that they might be carried to Texcoco, to which place they were brought on the shoulders of Indians for the aforesaid attempt.

To the tenth question, he replied that he knows it and that it happened as therein described.

To the eleventh question, he replied that he knows that the said Martin Lopez supplied the said workmen with all that was necessary, wine, vinegar, and oil, because he took upon himself the whole expense until the result of the attempt might be seen, even setting them up again in Texcoco without any assistance from the Marquis, who had not furnished him with anything during the

construction, and witness knows and saw that Martin Lopez was occupied for more than a year on the business.

To the twelfth question, he replied that he knows what the question contains, because he saw that they were awaiting the result of the building of the brigantines.

To the thirteenth question, he replied that a salary of twelve ducats per day would be very little under the circumstances, because the brigantines brought marvellous results in the redemption of the innumerable souls that had been baptized and were being baptized each day, among the new subjects of His Majesty, and the vast increase of kingdoms which had accrued to the Crown.

To the fourteenth question, he replied that he knew and had seen that the Marquis del Valle, both before and after the event, showed great goodwill towards the said Martin Lopez, saying before he built the brigantines that he would make him great grants if they were successful, and after the victory had been won and the city captured and surrendered, the Marquis embraced him and attributed to him the signal victory, saying to him that His Majesty would make him a count, or a marquis, for his great work in building the brigantines, and so bringing about the re-conquest of the capital city and the subjugation of Mexico.

To the fifteenth question, he replied that he knew, and had seen, that the said Martin Lopez had and managed moneys he had brought from Castile, and had lent sums of money in pesos to the Marquis del Valle, and further had heard the former say on a number of occasions that his life and estate he had to spend in the service of his King.

To the sixteenth question, he replied that he knew that the said Martin Lopez had brought out in his service, from Rivera, two servants who were carpenters, to whom he paid very high wages to induce them to do their best in the building of the brigantines.

To the seventeenth question, he replied that he knew its contents and had known both the parties mentioned, whose names were Miguel and Pedro de Mafía, and who knew carpentry, and were employed in the work, doing everything that the said Martin Lopez ordered them to do, and that both had been killed in battle, as had also been a cousin of the said Martin Lopez.

To the eighteenth question, he replied that he was aware of its contents, and that it was the general opinion in the army that the building of the ships was very meritorious, and that the King our Sovereign Lord could not do better than confer great grants on the builder, and that he, (witness) referred to what he had said above.

To the nineteenth question, he replied that the Marquis del Valle had not rewarded the said Martin Lopez for the work done in the building of the brigantines, although witness was aware that His Majesty had paid the Marquis for the construction of the said brigantines; that the latter had not compensated the said Martin Lopez, the actual builder of the ships, in any way, because the Indians comprised within the *encomienda* which had been given him were so few as to be barely sufficient for the work of his farms.

To the twentieth question, he replied that he knew and had seen that the Marquis and his companions, in their retreat on the night known as "Noche Triste", lost more than eight hundred soldiers, and that the Marquis, on calling the roll to ascertain who were missing, asked after Martin Lopez, whom he held in

great esteem and on learning that he was alive, rejoiced exceedingly, and did not ask after anybody else, and witness believed that in so doing he was inspired by Our Lord with the thought that through Martin Lopez, who was as sagacious as he was daring, he would win back the city that he had lost.

To the twenty-first question, he replied that the said Martin Lopez was on board the flagship [*la capitana*], the captain of which was Juan Rodriguez de Villafuerte, which, being in the van, was surrounded and attacked by the whole force of the Indians, in such a way that they surrendered and beached the ship, and the captain and many of the soldiers abandoned it, whereupon the said Martin Lopez, finding himself unsupported, acted as a good soldier should, and laying hands on his sword and shield defended the said brigantine, killing and throwing into the water those who had already captured it, with which he freed the ship, after which, seeing the overwhelming force of Indians who were approaching and surrounding her, he had no other recourse than to seize a cross-bow and kill the chief who was leading them, on which, by the will of God, the Indians dispersed and retreated, and he was enabled to float the brigantine, the whole being a marvellous piece of luck for the said Martin Lopez, as all the people of the Marquis, witness among them, gave him up for lost.

To the twenty-second question, he replied that he knows it happened as contained therein, because he personally saw that the said Martin Lopez was the first to enter in the leading brigantine, the others following him, and that on reaching near the Plaza he raised the standard of the flagship, saying and shouting "Victory for the King of Spain".

To the twenty-third question, he replied that in all the provinces he had seen that the said Martin Lopez took his part in the pacification, and that since he had come to this Kingdom he had always served at his own cost, whether on foot or on horseback.

To the twenty-fourth question, he replied that the Marquis del Valle had always made great use of the said Martin Lopez, and witness had seen that he entrusted him with matters of importance in the service of God and of the King, sending him to make discoveries, conquests, and pacifications of the provinces of this kingdom.

To the twenty-fifth question, he replied that he knew that he had gone for his wife to the Kingdoms of Castille and had brought her here, and that they were residents of this City of Mexico.

To the twenty-sixth question, he replied that he was aware of it, having seen him go with Nuño de Guzman to Nueva Galicia, to pacify and conquer it by order of the Audiencia, very well equipped with five horses and two negroes, the whole at a very great cost on account of the scarcity of horses, and that he was there for the length of time stated in the question.

To the twenty-seventh question, he replied that he had heard tell of the contents of the question, but did not know more about it than that there was a dispute on the subject between the said Martin Lopez and the said Marquis.

To the twenty-eighth question, he replied that he believed it to be certain that, leaving the will of God aside, the principal cause of the re-capture of this city was the construction of the brigantines, as had it not been for them it would have been impossible to enter and take it, owing to the protection given to the city by the lake which lay near it and surrounded it on all sides, the causeways over which were damaged and interrupted in such a manner as to prevent access, and that such a service

Andrés de Truxillo, in reply to the twenty-sixth question, stated that he knew that the said Martin Lopez had, by order of the Audiencia, gone to Nueva Galicia with Nuño de Guzman for the pacification of those lands and provinces, where he had spent a great deal, as horses were at excessive prices, and where he had served as a gallant soldier, and that at the end of two years he had returned and found that his estate (among other things the houses occupied by the Archbishopric) was lost, having been sold by Hernando Medel, to whom the said Martin Lopez had left power of attorney to administer his estate during his absence, and who had absconded with the money, whereby, as the result of his zeal in the service of his Majesty, the said Martin Lopez had remained very poor.

Lázaro Guerrero, in reply to the seventeenth question, stated that he knew that the two servants were never lacking anything; that one of them was named Pedro and the other Miguel de Mafia; that both of them implicitly obeyed the orders of the said Martin Lopez, and that they and a cousin of the latter were killed in battle.

To the eighteenth question, he replied that much greater than what is mentioned in the question was the praise unanimously given to the said Martin Lopez in discussions and conversations, the speakers taking it for granted that his memorable deed, which brought about the re-capture [of the city], would meet with an adequate reward.

To the twentieth question, he replied that he had been present when the Marquis was listening to the roll-call after a battle, and when he was informed of the number who had been killed he was very sad and enquired specially about Martin Lopez, and when the captains told him that he was alive his countenance cleared and he rejoiced.

To the twenty-second question, he replied that after a large number of the Indians who had been attacking the aforesaid brigantine had been killed or surrendered, the said Martin Lopez took command of the vessel and guided it until they reached the Plaza of Mexico, where he raised the royal standard, shouting: "Victory! Victory for the King our Sovereign Lord!" on which all the others came forward.

To the twenty-seventh question, he replied that it was common knowledge that the Marquis charged His Majesty with thirty thousand ducats of gold as the cost of the building of the brigantines which the said Martin Lopez had built at his own expense, as witness knew well, in connection with which a lawsuit was instituted."

Following the evidence of the witnesses are copies of the letters addressed by the Viceroy Mendoza and the Viceroy Velasco to Charles V. regarding the services of Martin Lopez:

"To His Most Christian Majesty.

Martin Lopez, a resident of this City of Mexico, has submitted the enclosed enquiry into his services overseas, with the request that, after examining it, I should forward it to Your Majesty for your information. From its contents I gather that he served Your Majesty well and faithfully in the capture of this City of Mexico, and that it was due to his intelligence and industry that the brigantines were built, which, under Providence, was one of the means by which this city was gained. He was afterwards granted an encomienda hard by this city, of but little worth. He is an

honorableman, with a wife and children, and is worthy of whatever favor Your Majesty may deem well to grant to him.

(Signed) DON ANTONIO.....”

“To His Most Christian Majesty.

At the request of Martin Lopez, an inhabitant of this City of Mexico, this Royal Audiencia has examined the enclosed enquiry, which was made at his instance with a view to submitting to Your Majesty a certificate of his services overseas, from which it appears that it is common knowledge in this city that he came out to this country with the Marquis, and was one of the first conquistadors of this New Spain, and that during the Conquest he served well and faithfully, and that due to his intelligence and activity were built the brigantines, which was one of the principal factors by which, under Providence, this city was won; and that he has a wife and children. He was granted an encomienda over one half of a village, but it was of little value, and in view of his necessity the Viceroy provided him with a Magistracy [*Corregimiento*]. He is worthy of any favor Your Majesty may condescend to grant him as remuneration for his services.

(Signed) DON LUIS DE VELASCO.

(Signed) DOCTOR MONTEALEGRE.

(Signed) DOCTOR BRAVO.....”

In 1548 Martin Lopez was still prosecuting his suits against Hernando Medel and Cortes (although Cortes died in 1547), as will be seen by the following petition:

“Very Powerful Sir: I, Martin Lopez, an inhabitant of this city and conquistador of the realms and provinces of this New Spain, state that I have suits of some consideration pending in this Royal Audience against Hernando Medel in connection with moneys and properties belonging to me, of which he unlawfully disposed while I was absent in the service of His Majesty in the province of Nueva Galicia and elsewhere; and against the Marquis del Valle for the amount due me as remuneration for the building of the brigantines, which I carried out at my own expense, as is explained in more detail in the reports of the said suit, for the due prosecution of which it is necessary that I take part in the proceedings. I am well born, being the son of an hidalgo, as is proved by the certificates presented herewith. I therefore beg and request Your Highness to be so good as to grant permission to me or any one of my sons in my stead to sit in the enclosure reserved for the lawyers during the hearing of my suits, whereby I shall receive grace and justice.

(Signed) MARTIN LOPEZ.”

“In the City of Mexico on the twenty-second day of the month of December of the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and forty-eight, the members of the Royal Audiencia of this New Spain, being in session, received the foregoing petition of Martin Lopez, Conquistador, with the certificates referred to therein, and after considering it, their lordships decided that the said Martin Lopez, or his eldest son, Martin Lopez Ossorio, should be permitted to sit in the dais [*estrado*] reserved for the lawyers, and gave orders to that effect.

(Signed) ANTONIO DE TURCIOS.”

In 1550 Martin Lopez was granted by Charles V. the right for himself and descendants to bear arms. (See *Nobilario de Conquistadores de Indias* p.-193.)

should be very acceptable to God and one meriting the part of His Majesty to the said Martin Lopez.

To the twenty-ninth question, he replied that among all the people who came with the expedition, one who was capable of drawing up the plans and the construction of the brigantines but the said who ventured to do so with certain workmen whom he had out as servants, and who, thanks to his intelligence, was successful in a pre-eminent degree.

To the thirtieth question, he replied that the interrogatory says and alleges is a matter of common knowledge in all this New Spain, and that the foregoing is the oath he had taken, and he signed with his name *Vasquez de Tapia*.

(Signed) ANTONIO DE TUR

Scrivener of his

Additional evidence was given by a number of conquistadors.

Gerónimo Ruiz de Mota, in reply to the fifth question, stated that all the conquistadors knew that Martin Lopez had sent out most supplies and was the best equipped, and that when he had need of money, borrowed from him.

To the twenty-second question, he replied that he had seen that, the chief of the opposing army had fled, the Indians fled, and that Martin Lopez on the first day was the first to enter the city, raising the royal standard, proclaiming victory on doing so, whereupon with him he had freely entered the city.

To the twenty-seventh question, he answered that it was common knowledge that the Marquis del Valle had paid ten thousand ducats of gold for the construction of the brigantines for which reason the said Martin Lopez instituted a suit against the said Marquis, which was all witness knew about.

Antonio Bravo, in reply to the twenty-eighth question, answered that he was aware of what was therein alleged, that the said Martin Lopez had been the first to enter the city, other brigantines following him, as far as the city, he raised the standard, shouting: "Victory for the King of Spain", Sovereign Lord", whereupon those who followed him entered the city without misgiving.

To the twenty-seventh question, he replied that it was common knowledge that the Marquis del Valle charged him with thirty thousand gold ducats for the building of the brigantines, whereas they had been constructed at the expense of the said Martin Lopez, which was the origin of the suit brought against him.

Andrés de Tapia, in reply to the twenty-first question, answered that he knew and had seen that when the flagship of the brigantines was in a perilous position, being aground and surrounded by more than five thousand canoes and abandoned by the rest of the fleet, Rodriguez de Villafuerte, the said Martin Lopez, with him, against the attacking Indians, killing their chiefs, and threatening them to disperse, thereby saving the flagship.

To the twenty-second question, he replied that after Martin Lopez had saved the said brigantine, his way into the city followed by the other brigantines, reaching the Plaza he raised the royal standard, shouting "Victory for the King of Spain", at which cry he entered the town without fear.

one meriting great grants on Martin Lopez.

replied that he knew that the expedition there was no the plans and carrying out but the said Martin Lopez, ckmen whom he had brought s intelligence and assiduity, e.

plied that all that the atter of common knowledge regoing is the truth, by the with his name. *Bernardino*

O DE TURCIOS.

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ly to the fifteenth question, y that Martin Lopez brought ipped, and that the Marquis, ed from him.

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he replied that he had seen e said brigantine, he made e other brigantines, and on royal standard, shouting: which cry the others pene-

Note 10, page 82

Monastery of Santo Domingo. The Dominican friars arrived in Mexico, from Spain, on 25th July 1526. Their first buildings were narrow and uncomfortable. They comprised the living quarters for the friars, a small church and a secure prison for the prisoners of the Holy Office. In 1527 the friars obtained land for building a more fitting monastery and church, which were sufficiently advanced by 1529 for them to move into the new premises. In 1552 Prince Philip, writing on the 12th May to the Viceroy Velasco, said: "It has been related to me that the church of the said monastery is falling to pieces, whereby both the clergy belonging to it and the congregation run every day a great risk, being in fear it may come down on their heads." (Puga, *Cedulario*. Folio 185; also Vol. II. p. 156; reprint 1879). The description of Cervantes must refer to this church. In view of its dilapidated condition it was ordered to be rebuilt at the expense of the Royal Exchequer. The new church was dedicated in 1575 and consecrated in 1590. Owing to its unstable foundation it was again rebuilt, the later structure, which was dedicated in 1736, being the magnificent church which exists to-day.

In 1861 the friars were expelled from the cloisters, and very little now remains of the once splendid monastery. (See *Libro Tercero de la Historia Religiosa de la Provincia de México de la Orden de Sto. Domingo*, by Friar Hernando Ojea, pp. 9-20; Icazbalceta, *Dialogos*, pp. 206-211; *Los Conventos Suprimidos en México*, by Manuel Ramirez Aparicio, pp. 9-111.)

Note 11, page 82

Church of the Vera Cruz. The church of Santa Veracruz was founded by Hernando Cortes and was already in existence in 1526. It was raised to the status of a parish church in 1568. The present church was dedicated on the 14th October 1730.

Note 12, page 82

San Hipólito. The church of San Hipólito was founded on the site of a small hermitage which was set up to mark the spot on the Tacuba causeway where the slaughter of the soldiers of Cortes took place on their retreat in 1520. The hermitage was called *La Ermita de los Mártires* and was dedicated to San Hipólito in commemoration of San Hipólito's Day, 13th August 1521, when the city was finally conquered. The present church, which was built at the expense of the city, was dedicated in 1739.

Note 13, page 83

Monastery of San Francisco. The first church of the Franciscan Order was a humble temporary structure erected in 1524, a little to the north-east of the principal plaza, in the Calle de Santa Teresa la Antigua (now Avenida de Guatemala). The friars settled in the new monastery in 1525. The church to which Cervantes refers was therefore the second, and this was again replaced by the modern church which was dedicated in 1716. Around the history of the church and monastery of San Francisco has been largely written the history of colonial Spain. In its early days it housed the devoted and learned friars, Martín de Valencia, Pedro de Gante, and Toribio de Benavente (Motolinia).

During Robert Tomson's brief residence in Mexico it was the centre of the imposing funeral Memorial Ceremonies of Charles V., and in the adjoining chapel of San José there was celebrated in 1575 the second auto de fe of the regular Inquisition, when John Martin ("Cornelius the Irishman", see Note 13, p. 94), one of the seamen from John Hawkins's fleet, was condemned to death. The reform movement of the middle of the nineteenth century played havoc with the old monastery, and its properties were divided north and south, east and west, to make new streets in what is now the business district of the city. Very little remains of the monastery, and year by year the remnants of the old walls are being gradually demolished to make way for new buildings. (See Vetancourt: *Teatro Mexicano*, quarta parte, 1697; Icazbalceta, *Diálogos*, pp. 213-229; Ribera Cambas, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-227; Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-104; Manuel Ramirez Aparicio, *op. cit.* pp. 189-390).

Note 14, Page 83

Torquemada tells us: "There was in the courtyard of the monastery a cross, higher than the highest tower of the city, visible before entering from all the highways and surroundings, and a great solace to the wayfarers, who saw it so high and conspicuous. It was made of a very tall and thick cypress which had grown in the forest of Chapultepec.....and as soon as the friars arrived and had a house, they cut down the cypress and set it up in the shape of the cross in the atrium....." (*Monarqu. Ind.*, Bk. III., Chap. 26).

Note 15, page 83

Título Imperial. See Note 6, Page 103.

Note 16, page 84

Colegio de los Niños Huérfanos. In his *Dialogues* Cervantes refers to this college as being "dedicated to the two Saint Johns", i. e. the Baptist and the Evangelist; but on the 21st September 1557 we find Philip II., when writing to the *Royal Audience*, referred to the college as that of "San Juan de Letran", by which name it continued to be known until its destruction in the early part of the nineteenth century. The school was built adjoining the monastery of San Francisco, upon a piece of land granted by the city council in 1529 for an infirmary for Indian children. Later, the Viceroy Mendoza established there the school Cervantes describes for the half-breeds, i. e., the children of Spaniards and Indian women. (Icazbalceta: *La Instrucción Pública en la Ciudad de México durante el Siglo XVI*, México 1893; *Diálogos* pp. 230-232).

Note 17, page 84

Colegio de las Huérfanas. This school was founded by the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, probably before 1542, and was recognized by a royal warrant dated 18th December 1552. It was intended not only for the *mestizas*, but also for the Spanish girls "who drifted lost in the land and who were gathered together, and a handful of virtuous Spanish women put over them to teach them all the necessary virtues." (Puga, *Cedulario*, folio 145; also Vol. II., p. 199, reprint 1879). The school

changed its destiny in the course of time, and Vetancourt, writing in 1697, states that it was devoted to 24 Spanish girls and had an endowment of 500 pesos. The college was maintained until 1861, when the magnificent building was sold and the school girls passed to the College of San Ignacio, or *Las Vizcainas* (Icazbalceta, *Dialogos*, pp. 233-236.)

Note 18, page 85

Monastery of Santiago. The Franciscans established this monastery in 1529 near, or on the site of, the famous Aztec temple of Tlaltelolco. In 1537 there was founded the celebrated school for Indians called the *Colegio de Santa Cruz*, and it was in this monastery that the learned friar San Juan Baptista wrote many of his famous works. The church of Santiago, which still exists, was dedicated in 1609. It is now used as a warehouse by the railroad, and what remains of the convent buildings is used as a military prison. (See Ribera Cambas, *op. cit.* pp. 76-83.)

Note 19, page 86

Chapultepec. The hill of Chapultepec is situated about three miles from the city, south-west of the Plaza de la Constitución. It now forms the centre of the beautiful *Bosque de Chapultepec*, famous for its *ahuehuete* trees. Its history goes back to the earliest settlement of the Aztecs in the Valley of Mexico, and in the twelfth century it became the recreation place of their emperors. At the top of the hill was a temple for the worship of the Aztec idols, and the surrounding woods were held to be sacred. During the colonial period it was from time to time the country residence of the Viceroy, and since the Independence it has been the official home of the Presidents of the Republic.

Note 20, page 86

Cervantes does not exaggerate the wonderful view from the top of the hill, which is one of great beauty and extent. To the south-east are seen snow-clad mountains, the lofty volcano Popocatepetl (burning mountain) and its neighbour, Ixtacihuatl, (sleeping lady), and in the foreground the city, with Lake Texcoco lying between it and the mountains. To the south is the high range dominated by Ajusco, with the extinct volcano Xitli immediately below it, and to the north-east the historic hill of Tepeyac, sheltering beneath its slopes the church of Guadalupe. From the hill of Chapultepec could have been seen almost due south by the contemporaries of Cervantes, the ruins of the pyramid Cuicuilco, erected by an Indian chief 7000 years ago, and later partly buried by successive volcanic eruptions from Xitli, which poured the lava flow over a primitive culture which is arousing great archaeological interest today. On a clear day, there could also be seen, to the east, the temples of Teotihuacan, that great centre of the Toltec civilization which existed centuries before the Aztec kings made Chapultepec their residence.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX No. 1.

Proceso de Cristobal de Toledo

contra

Roberto Tomson-Inglés

1560-México

(A. G. N. Inquisición Tomo 32. Num. 8.)

Carátula.—Proceso de Cristóbal de Toledo, alguazil fiscal de este Arzobispado, contra Roberto Tomson, inglés, diziendo quel susodicho ha dicho ciertas palabras de la reprovada seta luterana y contra nuestra santa fee cathólica.—Juez, el señor doctor Anguis, provisor.—Notario, Joan de Ybarreta.

(Sentenciado en dos años de Sanbenyto y uno de cárcel en Castilla, año de 1560.)

(*Folio I*) En la Ciudad de México, de la Nueva España, a nueve días del mes de septiembre de mil e quinientos e cinquenta e nueve años, el muy reverendo e muy magnífico señor el Doctor Anguys, Juez probisor e bicario general en este arzobispado de Mexico, en presencia de my, Juan de Ybarreta, Notario público apostólico, y de la audiencia de este dicho Arzobispado de Mexico, Dixo, que a su noticia abia venydo que Ryberto Tonson, inglés, con poco temor de Dios Nuestro Señor y de la Justicia eclesiástica, ha dicho muchas palabras contra nuestra santa fee cathólica, siguyendo la seta luterana en gran cargo de su conciencia y ánima, dando mal enxemplo a los que le han oydo dezir las dichas palabras, y para poner remedio en ello, mandó tomar la ynformación del thenor siguiente.—(Una rúbrica)—Pasó ante my. —*Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica.)

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de México este dicho día, nueve de Septiembre del dicho año, para la dicha ynformación fué tomado e recibido juramento de Gonzalo Cerezo,

alguazil mayor de corte, el qual juró por Dios Nuestro Señor e por Santa María, y por una señal de Cruz, so cargo del qual prometió de dezir verdad de lo que supiese y le fuese preguntado, y siendo preguntado por el thenor de lo susodicho, dixo que (*Folio I vta.*) conosce al dicho Ruberto Tomson, ynglés, ques su criado, e que lo que save es que antier, jueves, estando este testigo comyendo y estándole syrviendo el dicho Ruberto Tomson, el susodicho comensó a hablar con un criado deste testigo, en que se vyno a hablar sobre hazer horaciones a los santos, y el dicho Tomson rrespondió que los santos, que heran de madera y de piedra, e que no había necesidad de hazer horaciones, y este testigo le rrespondió que aquellos santos que estavan pintados en aquella madera rrepresentavan a los que estaban en el Cielo, por que la horazion no se avía de hazer a los de acá, syno a los que estaban allá, y el dicho rroberto respondió a este testigo que ny a los que estaban allá tampoco se avya de hazer horación, syno a solo Dios, que estaba con los brazos abiertos en el Cielo; y este testigo le rrespondió y le traxo una comparación, diziendo que, quando un pobre hombre quiere pedir merced al rrey, o pedirle perdón de algun delyto, y no se atreve, tiene por muy gran vyen encomendarse a un privado del Rey para que pida la merced por él; y el dicho rruberto le rrespondió que por eso el Rey se parava a la ventana para que chicos y grandes lo pudiesen hablar, e que si Dios se parava a la ventana quando decían mysa, e que ally le podían pedir los pecadores y no rogar a los santos, y este testigo se lo rreprehendió, diziendo que aquella hera seta luterana e que hera mal hecho, e que esto es lo que sabe y la verdad, para el juramento que hizo, y firmolo de su nombre—(Una rúbrica).—*Gonzálo de Cerezo.*—(Rúbrica).—Pasó antemy.—*Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica).

E luego el dicho señor Provisor, para la dicha ynformación, tomó y recibió juramento en forma de derecho por Dios y por Santa María, y por una Señal de Cruz, de Manuel Borges, mayordomo del alguazil mayor Cerezo, so cargo del qual prometió de dezir verdad de lo que supiese y le fuese preguntado, y siendo preguntado por el thenor de lo susodicho, dixo que conoce al dicho Ruberto Tomson, yngles, y que lo que save es que antier, jueves, estando este testigo y el dicho (*Folio II*) Ruberto Tomson syrviendo a la comyda del dicho alguazil mayor, trataron entre este testigo y el susodicho, de las horaciones y devociones de los cristianos que tienen a los santos; el dicho rruberto Tomson dixo que los santos heran de piedra y de madera, y los hazían hombres e que no avya necesidad de hazer horaciones a ellos, y el dicho alguacil mayor dijo al dicho Tomson que que aquellos santos que estavan pintados en aquella madera representavan a los que estavan en el cielo, y para que se tubiese más memoria de ellos estavan allí pintados, e que las horaciones no se hacían a los de acá sino a los que estavan en el cielo; y el dicho Roberto dijo que ni a los del cielo no se avía de hacer horación, sino solamente a dios, que estava con los brazos aviertos en el cielo, y el dicho alguacil mayor trajo una comparación, diciéndole que quando algun pobre hombre quería pedir merced al Rey o pedirle perdón de algún delito y no se atrevía, tenía por muy gran bien encomendarse a un privado del Rey por que pida la merced, y el dicho Roberto respondió que por eso el Rey se parava a la ventana, para que todos le pudiesen hablar, e que así Dios se parava a la ventana quando decían misa, e que allí le avían de pedir los pecadores y no rogar a los santos; y el di-

cho alguazil mayor le dijo que aquella era seta luterana y se lo rreprehendió, e que, despues de aver comido el dicho alguazil mayor, este testigo y el dicho rroberto se salieron para ir a comer, y estando sentados a la mesa, se tornó a afirmar en lo que a la dicha mesa del dicho alguazil mayor se avía dicho, y para confundillo, este testigo le dixo que, pues que la Yglesia Romana permitía que los santos de bulto y pintados y de otra qualquier suerte estubiesen en las Yglesias consagradas, que no era byen quel ny otra persona osasen dezir otra cosa; y en esto salió María despinosa, ama deste testigo, y le dixo que no tratasen más en ello, e así no trataron, e queste testigo no tiene al dicho rruberto por buen cristiano, por que en quatro meses poco más o menos que este (*Folio II vta.*) testigo conoce al dicho rruberto en casa del dicho alguazil mayor, nunca le a visto persinar, ni rezar, ny hazer otras cosas de cristiano, e que algunas veces, yendo a la Yglesia, estando qualquier misa o misas empesadas o por acabar o no acabándola, se salía sin oyr misa entera, e que un criado del dicho alguazil mayor, que se dice Jorge veneçiano, ha dicho a este testigo que acía que conozía al dicho rruberto Tomson dos años poco más o menos, e que nunca le avía visto confesar ni comulgar, e que todos los de la tierra del dicho rroberto Tomson heran luteranos; e que el primero viernes despues se publicó el Jubyleo en esta dicha ciudad, vido almorzar al dicho rroberto Tomson, y este testigo sospechó del, por que, estando bueno, no honraba el Jubyleo; e questa es la verdad y lo que sabe deste caso, para el juramento que hizo. Preguntado por las generales, dixo ques de hedad de treynta e ocho años, poco más o menos, e que no es pariente ny enemigo del dicho Tomson, y firmolo de su nombre.—*Manuel Borges.*—(Rúbrica).—Pasó ante mí—*Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica).

E despues de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de México, a doze días del mes de Septiembre del dicho año, el dicho señor Provisor, para la dicha información, hizo parescer ante sy a Jorge Manuel, Page del alguazil mayor Gonzalo Cerezo, del qual fué tomado y recibido juramento en forma de derecho, por Dios y por Santa María, y por una señal de cruz, so cargo del qual prometió de dezir verdad de lo que supiese y le fuese preguntado, y siendo preguntado por el thenor de la dicha cabeza de proceso, dixo que conoce al dicho rroberto Tomson. Preguntado por las preguntas generales, dixo que es de hedad de diez y ocho años, poco más o menos, e que no le toca ninguna de ellas; y el dicho Señor Provisor le preguntó, qué tanto tiempo ha que lo conoce, el qual dixo que ha que lo conoce un año poco más o menos, e queste testigo y el susodicho vinieron en un navío de espanya. E que lo que sabe es, que el jueves pasado, estando este testigo y el dicho Tomson y Manuel de Borges sirviendo a la mesa del alguazil mayor a la comida, y entre el dicho Tomson y Borges trataron (*Folio III*) pláticas y hablaron sobre las horaciones y debociones que los cristianos hazian a los santos, y el dicho rroberto Tomson dixo que, para que avía aquellos santos de madera y pintados en las Yglesias, que él se hacía otros como ellos, e que no avian de hacerle horación a ellos, sino a los santos que estaban en el cielo y a Dios. Preguntado si es verdad que abrá dos meses, poco más o menos, que, estando una imagen colgada a la cavecera de la cama del dicho rroberto Tomson, el susodicho quitó la dicha imagen de donde estava colgada y la puso sobre una caxa, y el dicho Tomson puso su gorra en el clavo donde estava la dicha imagen, diciendo que la dicha imagen le embara-

zava la cámara y el clavo donde él ponía su gorra; dixo que puede haver el dicho tiempo, poco más o menos, que este testigo colgó de un clavo que estava a la cavecera de la cama del dicho Tomson, una imagen de Nuestra Señora, e otro día, de mañana, este testigo vido que en el dicho clavo estava colgada una gorra y quitada la dicha imagen y puesto sobre una arca; y este testigo preguntó al dicho Tomson que, porque avía quitado de allí la dicha imagen, y el dicho Tomson le dixo que la avía quitado la dicha imagen por que le embarazava el clavo donde el thenía su gorra. E que esto es lo que sabe y la verdad, para el juramento que hizo, en lo que se afirmó y ratificó, siéndole leydo, y no firmó por que dixo que no sabía.—(Rúbrica).—Pasó ante my. *Juan Gomez*, Notario.—(Rúbrica).

E luego, para la dicha información, fué tomado y recibido juramento en forma de derecho de Sebastián Gallego, hermano de María de Espinosa, muger del alguazil mayor Gonzalo Cerezo, por Dios y por Santa María, y por una señal de Cruz, so cargo del qual prometió de decir verdad de lo que supiese y le fuese preguntado; y siendo preguntado por el thenor de la dicha caveza de proceso, dixo que conoce al dicho roberto Tomson de un año a esta parte, antes menos que más, que ha quel dicho Tomson está, y sirve en casa del dicho alguazil mayor Cerezo, y preguntado por (*Folio III vta.*) las preguntas generales, dixo que es de hedad de treinta e ocho años, poco más o menos, e que no es pariente ni enemigo del dicho Tomson, ni le tocan las demás generales, e que lo que sabe es, quel jueves pasado, estando este testigo con el dicho alguazil mayor comiendo a la mesa, y estándola sirviendo el dicho roberto tomson y Manuel de Borges, entre ambos los susodichos travaron plática sobre las horaciones que se hacen a los santos, y el dicho Roberto Tomson dixo que los santos, que heran de madera y de piedra e pintados, e quel se los sabía hacer y pintar, e que no avía necesidad de hacer horaciones a ellos; y el dicho alguazil mayor le dixo que aquellos santos que estaban pintados en la madera rrepresentavan a los que estaban en el cielo, por que la horacion no se havía de hacer a los de acá, sino a los que estaban en el cielo, y el dicho Tomson dixo que aquellos santos que acá estaban, que no valían nada, ni heran nada, por ser hechos y pintados de madera y piedra y lienzo, e que ni a ellos, ni a los que estaban en el cielo no se avía de hacer horación, sino a Dios, que estava con los brazos aviertos en el cielo, y a su madre; y el dicho alguazil mayor entonces traxo una comparación al dicho Tomson, diziéndole que quando un pobre hombre quiere pedir alguna merced al Rey, o pedirle perdón de algun delito, y él no se atreve a se lo pedir, lo encomienda a un privado del Rey para que él pida la merced, e así se hacen las horaciones a los santos para que a los pecadores alcancen con Dios lo que les piden; y entonces el dicho Tomson dixo que por eso el Rey se parava en la ventana para que todos le pidiesen lo que quisiesen, e que así Dios se parava a la ventana quando dicen misa, e que allí le podían pedir y rrogar los pecadores, y no rrogarlo a los santos; e allí el dicho Tomson fué reprehendido por el dicho alguazil mayor, y después, yendo a comer el dicho Tomson y el dicho Borges, tornaron a tratar en la propia materia, y el dicho Tomson vido este testigo que se tornó a afirmar en lo que a la dicha mesa delante deste testigo y del dicho alguazil mayor y de los demás avía dicho, y este testigo hizo que no tratasen más en ello, e que por lo que dicho tiene este testigo, (*Folio IV*) tiene por no buen cristiano al dicho rro-

berto Tomson; que esta es la verdad y lo que save de este caso, para el juramento que hizo, en lo qual se afirmó y ratificó, siéndole leydo, y no firmó porque dixo que no savía.—(Una rubrica)—Pasó ante my.—*Juan Gomez*. Notario. (Rúbrica).

(*Folio V.*) En la ciudad de México, de la Nueva España, a doze dias del mes de Septiembre de mill e quinientos e cinquenta y nueve años, el muy magnífico y muy Reverendo Señor el doctor Luis de Anguís, Juez provysor fiscal y vicario general en este Arzobispado de Mexico, etc, estando en la cárcel arzobispal de esta dicha ciudad, hizo parecer ante sy a Roberto Tomson, que en ella estava prezo, del qual fué tomado y recibido juramento en forma de derecho, por Dios y por Santa María, y por una Señal de Cruz, so cargo del qual prometió de decir verdad de lo que supiese y le fuese preguntado, al qual avyendo jurado como dicho es, el dicho Señor Provisor le hizo las preguntas siguientes.

Preguntado como se llama e que hedad tiene, y de donde es natural e que oficio tiene, y cuyo hijo es y como se llaman sus padres, dixo que se llama Roberto Tomson y es de hedad de veynte e zinco años, poco más o menos, e que es natural del Reyno de Ynglaterra, de un pueblo que se dize Andtona, e que es hijo de Duarte Tomson y de Tanar su muger, naturales del dicho pueblo, e que es tratante.

Preguntado si es baptizado y donde se baptizó, y si ay yglesias en el dicho pueblo donde éste es natural, dixo ques baptizado e que ay zinco o seis yglesias en el dicho pueblo, en una de las quales se baptizó.

Preguntado sobre los dichos sus padres, si tienen alguna raza de judíos o moros o converso, o de otra cualquiera seta condenada por la yglesia, y sy han sido penitenciados los dichos sus padres o algunos deudos dellos por la Santa ynquisición por alguna heregía que ayan dicho, dixo que no save que los dichos sus padres ayan thenido alguna cosa de las conthenidas en la dicha pregunta, ny tal a oydo.

Preguntado que tanto tiempo ha que salýo de su tierra y donde a estado y con quyen, e sy a estado en tierra de Alemania o en otra parte donde ovyesen luteranos y predicasen la seta luterana, dixo que puede aver zinco años, poco mas o menos, que salýo de su tierra, e que nunca a estado en Alemania, e que en el dicho rreyno de ynglaterra, antes que fuese a él el Rey don Felipe Nuestro Señor, se predicava (*Folio V vta.*) la seta luterana, e avía en toda la tierra muchos predicadores della, segun este confesante oyó dezir quando fué de Francia, donde su amo le avía enviado a contratar e aprender la lengua, e quel dicho su amo se llamava Juan Faver, ynglés, el qual dixo a éste que avía oydo predicar la seta luterana, e que, como dicho tiene, a zinco años, poco más o menos, que salýo de su tierra y vyno a parar a portugal, donde estuvo quatro meses, y de ally vino a sevilla, donde estuvo dos años y medio, poco más o menos, e que della vino a las yslas de canaria, y de las dichas yslas a la ysla española de Sancto Domingo, y della a esta dicha ziudad, a donde ha que está catorze o quinze meses, poco más o menos, e que en el ospital de Nuestra Señora estuvo los tres meses dellos, y los demás en casa de Gonzalo Cerezo, alguazil mayor de corte.

Preguntado si en conversación a tratado con algunas personas y dicho algunas palabras contra Nuestra Santa Fee Cathó-

lica, pensando que acertava, dixo que no se acuerda aver dicho ny hecho contra nuestra Santa Fee Cathólica palabras ny obras algunas, e que sy alguna cosa ha dicho, serya estando fuera de su juicio y entendimiento e no estando en sy.

Fue preguntado si, tratando éste, que el jueves pasado, que se contaron treynta y un dias del mes de agosto pasado, a hora de comer en casa del dicho alguazil mayor de corte, sobre las devociones y horaciones a los santos, este confesante dixo que los santos heran de piedra y de madera e que este confesante los hazia de madera y tinta como quisiese, e que no avía necesidad de hazer horaciones a ellos, y el dicho alguazil mayor respondió que aquellos santos que estavan pintados en aquella madera representavan a los que estavan en el cielo, y para que tuviesen memoria dellos estavan ally pintados, e que las horaciones no se hazían a los de acá syno a los que estavan en el cielo, y este confesante respondió que ny a los del cielo no se avía de hazer horaciones, syno solamente a Dios, que estava con los brazos avyertos en el cielo. Dixo que es verdad que este confesante dixo que los santos de las yglesias heran hechos de piedra y madera, e que estos heran por quien este confesante dixo que no se avía de hazer horaciones, e que en lo que toca a los santos del cielo, no se acuerda aver dicho lo que se le pregunta (*Folio VI*), e ques verdad quel dicho alguazil mayor dixo a este confesante lo contenido en la dicha pregunta, pero que no se acuerda averle respondido este confesante que al dicho alguazil mayor que ny a los del cielo no se avya de hazer horacion, syno a Dios que estava en el cielo con los brazos avyertos, e que sy lo dixo, que no estava en su juicio.

Preguntado sy es verdad que este confesante dixo y rrespondió al dicho alguazil mayor que no avya necesidad de yntercesores para con Dios, porque Dios cada día estava con los brazos avyertos en la mysa que los sacerdotes dezían, e que allí lo podían pedir los pecadores, syn tener necesidad de rogar a los santos que fuesen yntercesores. Dixo que no se acuerda aber dicho lo que le es preguntado. Fué preguntado si este confesante ha tratado lo contenido en las preguntas antes de esta con algunas otras personas. Dixo que no se acuerda aber tratado con ninguna persona.

Preguntado si los santos del cielo es bien que los pecadores pongamos por yntercesores para con Dios para que mejor seamos oydos, dixo que este confesante lo tiene por bien que los santos sean yntercesores para con Dios, e que lo contrario sabe este confesante que está reprobado por la Santa Madre Yglesia, y que todo lo que cree y tiene la Santa Madre lo tiene y cree este confesante.

Preguntado que tanto tiempo ha que no se confiesa, dixo que después que está en esta tierra a confesado y comulgado quatro vezes, una en el monesterio de Santo Domingo y las otras tres en el Ospital de Nuestra Señora, con el Capellan dél.

Preguntado si el sacramento de la penitencia y confesyon es uno de los sacramentos que la yglesia tiene ynstituydos y es necesario para la salud y salvación de las anymas, dixo que sí, e que asy lo tiene y cree.

Preguntado que tanto tiempo ha que no oye mysa entera, dixo que los más días tiene de costumbre de oyr mysa entera, quando puede.

Preguntado sy oye mysa entera los domingos y fiestas de guardar el prezepto de la Santa Madre Yglesia, y so pena de pecado mortal se a de guardar (*Folio VI vta.*), dixo que asy lo tiene y cree como se le pregunta, y este que asy lo ha hecho y guardado.

Preguntado si este confesante es casado o soltero, dixo que es soltero e que no a sydo casado.

Preguntado que, qué hazienda tiene este confesante, y donde la tiene, dixo que no tiene más hazienda de lo que tiene vestido y una cama en que duerme, y que no tiene otra cosa.

Preguntado si a este confesante deven algunos dineros e quien se los deve, dixo quel dicho alguazil mayor le deve obra de veynte o treynta pesos, de lo que le a servido, los quales tiene este confesante para pagar ciertos pesos que deve, e que otra persona no deve nada a este, e que lo que dicho tiene es la verdad y lo que pasa, por el juramento que tiene hecho, e que sy en alguna cosa a herrado pide a Nuestro Señor perdón e al dicho señor Provisor penytencia, y en todo está a la corrección de la Santa Madre Yglesia, y siéndole leydo, ratificose en él y lo firmo de su nombre.—*Roberto Tomson.* (Rúbrica.)—*El doctor Anguis.* (Rúbrica.)—Pasó ante my, *Juan de Ibarreta.*—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio VII*) En México, a 16 de septiembre de 1559 años, ante el señor doctor Anguis se presentó esta petición.—Muy Magnífico e muy Reverendo señor.—Roberto Tanson, preso en esta cárcel arzobispal, digo que a muchos días que estoy preso en esta cárcel y padesco mucha necesidad por que no tengo quien me dé de comer ny con que lo comprar, y con que pagar a procurador ni letrado, que pueda ni haga mi negocio. A Vuestra Merced pido, suplico, atenta my necesidad, me mande dar la causa de mi prision, y con brevedad lo determine, y pido justicia con mysericordia, y en lo necesario el muy magnífico e muy reverendo oficio de Vuestra Merced ymploro.—*Roberto Tomson.*—(Rúbrica.)

El presentada, y por el dicho señor provisor vista, dixo que dava y dió la boz y caución de este pleito a Pedro de Vega, fiscal, al qual mandó le ponga la acusación para la primera audiencia, y lo rubricó.—Pasó ante my, *Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica.)

El luego yncontinente yo, el notario, yuso escripto, ley e notifiqué la petición e auto de suso contenido al dicho Pedro de Vega, Fiscal, el qual dixo que lo oyó y lo azeptó. Testigo, *Juan de Ybarreta.*—Pasó ante my, *Juan Gómez, Notario.*—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio VIII.*) En la ciudad de Mexico, de la Nueva España, a veinte y zinco días del mes de Septiembre, de mill y quinientos zinquenta y nueve años, el muy magnífico y muy Reverendo Señor el doctor Luis de Anguis, Juez Provisor e Fiscal y Vicario General en este arzobispado de Mexico, etc. Estando en la cárcel arzobispal desta ciudad, hizo parecer ante sy a Roberto Tomson que en ella estaba preso, y dél fué tomado y recibido juramento en forma de derecho, por Dios y por Santa María, y por una señal de Cruz que hizo con los dedos de sus manos, so cargo del qual prometió de decir verdad de lo que supiese y le fuese preguntado, el qual aviendo jurado como dicho es, se le hizieron las preguntas siguientes.

Preguntado como se llama e que edad tiene, dixo que se llama Roberto Tomson y es de edad de veinte e zinco años, poco

mas o menos, e que este confesante tiene dicho su dicho y confesión antel dicho Señor Provisor y por ante mi, Juan de Ybarreta, Notario, en doze dias deste presente mes e año, que pidió se le mostrase y leyese, y siéndole mostrado y leydo por my, el dicho notario, la dicha su confesión, dixo que en lo que toca a la sesta pregunta, que se le preguntó que si tratando este confesante el jueves pasado, que se contaron treynta y un dias del mes de agosto pasado, a hora de comer en la casa del alguazil mayor de Corte sobre las horaciones y devociones a los santos, este confesante dixo que los santos heran de piedra y de madera, e queste confesante los hacía de madera y tinta como quisiese, e que no había necesidad de hacer horación a ellos, y el dicho alguazil mayor le respondió que aquellos santos que estaban pintados en aquella madera representavan a los que estaban en el cielo, y para que tuviesen memoria dellos estaban allí pintados, e que las horaciones no se hacían a los de acá sino a los que estaban en el cielo, y este confesante respondió que ny a un a los del cielo no se avía de hazer horación, sy no solamente a Dios que estava con los brazos abiertos en el cielo; dixo qué a recorrido su (*Folio VIII vta*) memoria y acordándose mejor que no quando se le tomó la dicha su confesión, que se le tomó de repente, y no advirtió lo que dixo, e que es verdad todo lo contenido en la dicha pregunta; pasó este confesante con el dicho alguazil mayor y las demás personas, e que lo dixo como la dicha pregunta lo dize, pero que lo dixo no con pensamiento que herrava, ny porque asy lo creyese, syno por traer mejor comparación a lo que se estava hablando, y por esto dixo la comparación que dixo, que por eso estava Nuestro Señor con los brazos abiertos cada día quando el sacerdote dezía la mysa, e que pues él estava allí, que no avía necesidad de poner yntercesores a los santos. E questo este confesante dixo, rrespondiendo a la comparación quel dicho alguazil mayor avía hecho, diziendo que quando uno quería pedir algun perdón e merced al Rey thenía por bueno que algun su privado yntercediese y rrogase por él, y por parecerle a este confesante esta comparación ser tan baxa, respondió lo que dicho tiene, y por que este confesante oyó la dicha comparación que este confesante dicho tiene a un estudiante, estando este confesante en un pueblo de Francia, tratando el dicho estudiante con un maestro de París, lo que dicho tiene, e otras cosas tocantes a nuestra Santa Fee, e que este confesante cree y tiene por cierto que a los santos se les a de hacer oración para que yntercedan con Nuestro Señor, e que su yntención no fué otra cosa sino para traer la comparación mejor efeto y para que se pudiese entender mejor; e que este confesante es Cristiano y cree y tiene lo que tiene y cree la santa madre yglesia, e que con aver dicho que no avía necesidad de rogar a los Santos, pues Dios estava aparejado siempre, conose aver herrado y dicho mal, y se retrata dello y pide a Dios mysericordia y se somete a la correpción de la santa madre yglesia.

Preguntado que sy es byen que aya ymágenes de santos en las yglesias y en otras partes, dixo que es muy bien que aya ymágenes en las iglesias y otras partes para que representen a los santos del cielo.

(*Folio IX*) Preguntado que como este confesante dijo, thenyendo en poco las dichas ymágenes, que heran de madera y tinta y piedra e qué las hacía de lo mismo, haziendo menos precio dellas, dixo que es verdad que dixo que las dichas ymágenes heran de madera y tinta y piedra y de otras cosas, por queste confesante

lo dixo porque un fulano Borges le dixo maliciosamente que por que avían quemado los santos de las yglesias de la tierra deste confesante, y a esto rrespondió este confesante que los santos de las yglesias estavan en el cielo e que los hombres humanos no thenían poder para quemarlos ny maltratallos, e que byen avía oydose que en su tierra avían sacado de las yglesias y quemado las ymágenes. E que aquellas, que heran de piedra y de madera las avían quemado despues de sacadas de las yglesias, e antes que en ellas las metiesen, e que sy en esto herró se retrata dello, e que lo dixo ynocentemente.

Preguntado con quien a comunycado y tratado lo tocante en las preguntas antes desta de los santos e ymágenes y de lo demás que tiene dicho, dixo que no se acuerda aver tratado de ello más de lo que dicho tiene.

Preguntado si sabe la dotrina Cristiana y las horaciones de la Yglesia, ave Maria, pater noster, credo, y salve Regina, artículos y mandamientos, dixo que sy sabe en su lengua ynglesa, por que es ynglés.

Preguntado si sabe leer y en qué, e que libros truxo de su tierra quando vyno a estas partes, e que libros tiene en su poder al presente, dixo que sy sabe leer y escribir razonablemente en la lengua ynglesa y franzeza y española, e que no truxo a estas partes ny tiene libro nynguno syno tan solamente unas horas de Nuestro Señor que tiene en su caxa, en casa del dicho alguazil mayor.

Preguntado que personas ay de la tierra deste confesante en esta ciudad y nueva españa o de alemanya, dixo queste confesante no a conocido ny conoce en esta ciudad y nueva españa a persona de la dicha su tierra ny alemanya, sy no es un hombre questá en esta dicha ciudad, en la casa de don Garcia de Albornos, fator de Su Magestad, que se dize Rafael Sea, que es de ynglaterra, e que de Alemania conoce a uno que haze la tomba en San Francisco, e queste confesante y él vinieron juntos (*Folio IX vta.*) de las yslas de Canaria, e que se llama Bartolemé, e quel sobre nombre no lo sabe este confesante.

E luego incontinenti, el dicho Señor Provisor amonestó al dicho Roberto Tomson que myre su conciencia y que no se levante testimonio a si mesmo, sino que libremente diga si es verdad todo lo que de suso tiene dicho, por que no quiere mas de saver la verdad, e que sy alguna otra cosa ha dicho o hecho que sea contra Nuestra Fee Cathólica, diga y confiese, porque se usará con él de toda misericordia; y el dicho Roberto Tomson dixo que lo que tiene dicho es la verdad y que no pasó mas de lo que dicho tiene, ny a hecho ny dicho otra cosa en su vida, e que como dicho tiene, si en las dichas sus confesiones a herrado y ofendido a Dios Nuestro Señor, pide se use con él de mysericordia, e que está presto de cumplir la penitencia saludable que por ello se le diere, que lo que dicho tiene es la verdad y lo que pasa, para el juramento que tiene hecho; y siéndole leydo, se ratificó en él y lo firmó de su nombre.—*El Doctor Anquis.* (Rúbrica)—*Roberto Tomson.* (Rúbrica)—Pasó ante my, *Juan de Ybarreta.* (Rúbrica.)

E luego yncontinenti, el dicho Señor Provisor dixo al dicho Roberto Tomson que sy quiere letrado y Procurador para que le ayuden en este negocio que lo diga, por que se le dará para que le ayuden y de valde atento ques pobre, y el dicho Roberto Tomson dixo quel dicho Señor Provisor le hará byen y merced de le darle

dicho letrado y Procurador que le ayuden, e que sea el Procurador uno de la Audiencia Real, y el letrado él que al dicho Señor Provisor le pareciere; y el dicho Señor Provisor le señaló por letrado y abogado al Doctor Sedeño, y por Procurador a Vicencio de Riverol; y lo firmó de su nombre el dicho Roberto Tomson. —*Roberto Tomson.* (Rúbrica)—Pasó ante my, *Juan de Ybarreta.* (Rúbrica.)

(*Folio X.*) En Mexico a 22 de set. de 1559 años, ante el Sr. Dr. Anguis la presentó el dicho y la juró.—Muy Magnífico y muy Poderoso Señor.—Pedro de Vega, alguazil fiscal deste arzobispado de Mexico, acuso criminalmente a Roberto Tomson, extranjero, natural del Reyno de Ynglaterra, preso en la Cárcel arzobispal, e premisas las solemnidades del derecho, Digo que así es quel susodicho, pospuesto el temor de Dios Nuestro Señor e contra su sancta ley e preceptos evangélicos e lo estatuydo e hordenado por los sacros canones de la Sancta Yglesia, leyes e constituciones destos Reynos, y en mal exemplo de la República Cristiana, en un día del mes de agosto que pasó, deste presente año, biniendo en casa de Gonzalo Cereso, alguazil mayor desta Corte, sirviéndole en su casa, hablando con un Manuel Borges e otras personas, y en presencia del dicho Alguazil mayor, sobre lo tocante a la horación, el susodicho dixo que los santos heran de piedra e madera e otras pinturas, e que él los haría de madera y pintura como quisiese, e que no se avía de hacer oración a los santos ni avía para qué. E reprehendiéndole e diciéndole el dicho Gonzalo Cerezo no dixese tal cosa, por que los santos que estavan pintados representavan los que estavan en el cielo, e para que se toviere memoria dellos los ponían en la Sancta Yglesia en conmemoración, e las oraciones se hazían a los que estavan en el cielo, poniéndolos por interzesoires en acatamiento de Dios Nuestro Señor. Y el susodicho continuando y estando en su opinión herética, dixo muchas veces que a los santos del cielo no se havía de hacer oración, siguiendo en lo dicho la opinión herética que los luteranos predicán y enseñan, yendo contra lo estatuydo y ordenado por la Sancta yglesia en los sacros canones e concilios, y así consta de los testigos en esta causa recibidos, e de la confesión del susodicho Roberto Tomson, el qual en su tierra e naturaleza declara aver oydo predicar y enseñar la dicha opinión e seta luterana, contra lo que tiene y enseña la Sancta fee cathólica, y tener la dicha opinión. Muchos dias después que vino del dicho su natural e tierra a estas partes, contra la confesión de la sancta fee cathólica y lo que tiene y enseña la Sancta Yglesia e la caridad divina, derogando en ello a la divina bondad e quitando (*Folio X vta.*) a Dios Nuestro Señor su loor, e a sus Sanctos lo que la potestad de Dios les concedió, dando a entender en sus obras e palabras el uso que a tenido en su seta y mala opinión, y quitando de su presencia e aposento las ymágenes e representaciones de Dios Nuestro Señor e sus Sanctos, como hombre que de mucho tiempo a estado en el dicho horror contra Nuestra Sancta fee cathólica, e aunque a estado en parte pública ante muchas personas, donde le pudieran ver e oyr su vida e actos en su vivir e tratar, tiene de costumbre no se persignar con la señal de la Cruz, ni santiguar, ni oyr misa, ni hacer oración pública ni secreta, ni confesarse como lo amonesta y manda la Sancta Yglesia. En todo lo qual el susodicho a cometido graves y atrozes delitos, por que pido a vuestra merced mande castigar al susodicho en las mayores e más graves penas en derecho e leyes e constituciones estatuydas e ordenadas,

executándolas en el susodicho e sus bienes, mandando hazer secreto y embargo de todos ellos, como de persona extranjero e sospechoso por lo dicho en las cosas de Nuestra Sancta fee, pues la calidad del delito lo requiere, y sobretodo pido cumplimiento de justicia, y en lo necesario el oficio de vuestra merced ymploro, y juro a Dios e a esta Cruz que no la pongo de malicia. *El Licenciado Pereyra.* (Rúbrica.)

E presentada e por el dicho Señor Provisor vista, dixo que mandava e mandó dar traslado de la dicha acusación al dicho Roberto Tomson, e responda para la primera audiencia.—Pasó ante my, *Juan de Ybarreta.* (Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XI*)—E después de lo susodicho en la dicha ciudad de México, este dicho día veinte de septiembre del dicho año, yo el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, notario, ley y notifiqué la dicha acusación desta otra parte contenida e lo en ella proveído por el dicho Señor Provisor al dicho Roberto Tomson, preso, en su presencia, el qual dixo que afirmándose en lo que dicho tiene en su confesión, y negando lo demás y lo perjudicial, por que no pasó más de lo que dicho tiene en su confesión; concluía por agora. Testigos: *Pedro Troncozo y Juan Gomez.*—*Juan de Ybarreta.* (Rúbrica.)

E luego yncontinenti, el dicho Pedro de Vega, Fiscal, dixo que, afirmándose en lo que dixo e alegado tiene, e negando lo perjudicial, concluía; parecieron testigos los dichos: Ante my, *Juan de Ybarreta.* (Rúbrica.)

E luego yncontinenti, el dicho Roberto Tomson dixo que si alguna cosa ha dicho contra nuestra fee Cathólica e contra los santos, lo había dicho por ignorancia y por no saber más, y se somete a la corrección de la Santa Madre Yglesia, y pide mysericordia dello con penitencia saludable, usando con él de piedad y mysericordia; y lo firmó de su nombre. Testigos los dichos.—*Roberto Tomson.* (Rúbrica.)—Pasó ante my, *Juan de Ybarreta,* (Rúbrica.)

E después de lo susodicho, en la ciudad de Mexico, a veinte e tres dias del mes de septiembre del dicho año, el dicho señor Provisor dixo que daba e dió el dicho pleyto por concluso por agora. Pasó ante my, *Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XI, vta.*)—Fallo que debe de recibir e rezibe ambas partes, segun de lo por ellos dicho e alegado, e de aquello que, probado, les pueda aprovechar, *salvo jure ynpertinentium et non admyttendorum*, con término de nueve dias primeros siguientes que corran desde el día de la notificación desta sentencia, e zitó a las partes para que se hallen presentes a ver jurar e conocer a los testigos que la una parte presentare contra la otra e la otra contra la otra, con apercivimiento que con la parte que pareciere se recibirá, e por esta mi sentencia lo pronuncio e mando.—*El Doctor Anguis.* (Rúbrica.)

Dada e pronunciada fué esta dicha sentencia por el dicho señor Provisor a veinte e tres dias del mes de septiembre de myll e quinientos e cinquenta e nueve años; pasó en casa de Pedro de Vega, Fiscal, a quien yo, Juan de Ybarreta, notario, notifiqué. Testigos que fueron: *Francisco Gonzales y Jerónimo de Torres.*—Pasó ante my, *Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica.)

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de Mexico, a diez días del mes de octubre del dicho año, yo el notario, yuso escripto, ley e notifiqué la sentencia dicha de suso contenida a

Vicencio de Riverol, que está nombrado por Procurador del dicho Tomson y le ayuda por pobre, el qual dixo que lo oyó y lo firmó.—*V. Riverol.* (Rúbrica.)—Pasó ante my, *Juan Gomez*, Notario.—(Rúbrica.)

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de Mexico, este dia diez de octubre del dicho año, yo el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, notario, notifiqué la dicha sentencia dicha de suso contenida al dicho Roberto Tomson, el que dixo que la oyó. Testigos: *Gerónimo de Torres* y *Juan Perez*.—*Juan de Ybarreta.* (Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XII*) En Mexico, el 11 de octubre de 1559 años, ante el Sr. Dr. Anguis, la presentó el dicho y juró. Muy magnífico y muy Poderoso Señor.—Pedro de Vega, Alguazil Fiscal deste Arzobispado, en el pleyto que trato contra Roberto Tomson, digo que en el plazo que me fué dado para rectificar mis testigos, por estar ausente el Alguazil mayor Gonzalo Cerezo y otro criado suyo, no los ha podido rectificar a Vuestra Merced, pido y suplico me mande prorrogar el dicho término por diez días o hasta tanto que venga el dicho Alguazil mayor, y pido justicia. *Pedro de Vega.* (Rúbrica.)

E presentada e por el dicho Señor Provisor vista, dixo que concedía e concedió el término que pide a una de las dichas partes e lo rrubricó. Pasó en haz del dicho Fiscal, a quien se notificó. Testigo, *Juan de Lucas Delgado*. Pasó ante my, *Juan de Ybarreta*.—(Rúbrica.)

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de Mexico, este dicho día onze de octubre del dicho año, yo el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, Notario, notifiqué el dicho término de suso contenido al dicho Roberto Tomson en su persona, el qual dixo que lo oyó; testigos: *Gerónimo de Torres* y *Pedro Ortiz*.—*Juan de Ybarreta*.—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XIII*)—En la ciudad de Mexico, de la Nueva España, a diez y seis días del mes de octubre de myll e quinientos e cinquenta y nueve años, el muy Ilustre y Reverendísimo Señor Don Fray Alonso de Montufar, Arzobispo en este Arzobispado de Mexico, del Consejo de Su Magestad, etc., dixo que nombraba y nombró por letrado y procurador de los pobres españoles y españolas e yndios e yndias que estubieren presos en la cárcel arzobispal deste dicho su arzobispado, y de aquy adelante se prendieren y vinieren a pedir justicia a su audiencia deste dicho arzobispado, al Licenciado Cavellos, abogado de la Real audiencia que en esta dicha ciudad resyde, e a Joan de Salazar, Procurador de la dicha Real Audiencia, a los quales daba y dió todo su poder cumplido qual en tal caso de derecho se requiere; y les señalava y señaló de salario cada un año, al dicho Licenciado Cavellos treinta pesos de horo comun, y al dicho Joan de Salazar veinte pesos del dicho horo comun, los quales se den e paguen de gastos de justicia por sus trabajos, y así lo mandó y lo firmó, y el dicho nombramiento corra desde el dicho dia hasta que se cumpla todo el año de sesenta primero, venydero, fechó *ut supra*. *Fray A[lonso] Archieps Mexican.* Pasó ante my, *Juan de Ybarreta*, Notario Publico apostólico.—Corregido con el original.—*Juan Gomez*,—Notario. (Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XIV*) En Mexico, 27 de Octubre de 1559, ante el Sr. Dr. Anguis, lo presentó y lo juró: Muy Poderoso y muy Magnífico Señor.—Johan de Salazar, en nombre y como defensor de Ro-

berto Tomson, preso sobre lo que le acusa el Fiscal deste arzobispado, digo que al dicho de mi parte se le ha puesto la acusación e se me ha dado la ynformación sumaria, y para alegar de su ynstancia tengo necesidad que mi letrado y yo nos ynformemos del e de las defensas que tiene, e para esto conviene verle e hablarle, pido e suplico a Vuestra merced mande señalar el día e ora que le hablemos para que en el que Vuestra merced señalare yo trayga a mi letrado, y pido justicia.—*Johan de Salazar.* (Rúbrica.)

E presentada e por el dicho Señor Provisor vista, dixo que mandaba e mandó al Alguazil y Fiscal deste arzobispado que todas las veces que quisyere hablar al dicho Roberto Tomson le abra las puertas al letrado y al dicho Johan de Salazar, procuradores de pobres, pasó en haz del dicho Fiscal, a quien se notificó. Testigos: *Juan Gomez y Pedro Gomez.*—Pasó ante my.—*Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XV*) E despues de lo susodicho, en la ciudad de Mexico, a veinte e ocho días del mes de octubre de myll e quinientos e cinquenta y nueve años, el dicho Señor Provisor, estando en una de las torres de las Cárceles de su Señoría Reverendísima, donde está preso el dicho Roberto Tomson, hizo parecer ante sy al dicho Roberto Tomson, y dél fué tomado y recibido juramento en forma de derecho por Dios y por Santa María y por una señal de Cruz, so cargo del qual prometió de decir verdad de lo que supiese y le fuese preguntado, al qual abiendo jurado como dicho es, el dicho Señor Provisor le hizo las preguntas siguientes:

Preguntado con que personas ha tratado y comunicado de cosas tocantes a nuestra Sancta fee, diziendo que Nuestro Señor no tenía mano derecha ny mano izquierda, dixo que es verdad queste confesante ha dicho que Dios no thenía mano derecha ny mano izquierda, y a lo que se aquerda, estas dichas palabras las dixo a un clérigo que vyno con Pedro de Vega, Fiscal, adonde este confesante está, y a Balthazar de Castro, y las dichas palabras las dixo, diziendo que Dios Nuestro Señor para los malos no thenía mano derecha, ny para los buenos mano izquierda.

Preguntado si este confesante cree y tiene lo que a creydo y thenydo, que Dios no thenya mano izquierda ny mano derecha, y por tenerlo y creerlo asy lo a comunicado con algunas personas, dixo que dice lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes desta, lo qual este confesante thenía en su pensamiento, que se entendía para el día del juicio, en el qual estarán los buenos a la mano derecha de Dios Nuestro Señor y los malos a la izquierda, e que si en lo susodicho alguna cosa a herrado, se somete a la sancta madre Yglesia y dello, penitencia saludable, e que esta es la verdad, para el juramento que tiene hecho, y firmolo de su nombre.—*El Doctor Anguis.* (Rúbrica)—*Roberto Tomson.* (Rúbrica.)—Pasó ante my. *Juan de Ybarreta.* (Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XVI*) En México, el 27 de Noviembre de 1559 años, ante el Sr. Dr. Anguis, lo presentó el contenido. Muy reverendo y muy magnífico Señor.—Cristobal de Toledo, Fiscal Alguazil deste Arzobispado de Mexico, en el pleyto con Roberto Tomson sobre lo que está acusado, y con Juan de Salazar, en su nombre, digo que en el término probatorio, por ser brebe, no se pudo hazer la probanza del Fiscal, y a causa destar ausentes los testigos de la sumaria ynformación no se han ratificado en sus dichos, y conviene que se ratifiquen. A Vuestra Merced pido y suplico mande concederme en la dicha causa término y quarto plazo de treinta

dias para poder hazer my provanza y ratificar los dichos testigos, y así lo pido, y sobre todo juro esta, y juro a Dios y a esta cruz que no lo pido de malicia.—*Cristóbal de Toledo*.—(Rúbrica.)

E presentada e por el dicho Señor Provisor vista, dixo que concedía e concedió el término de diez dias más, común a las partes, pasó en haz del dicho Cristóbal de Toledo, Fiscal, a quien yo, Juan de Ybarreta, Notario, notifiqué. Testigos: *Esteban de Salazar y Gerónimo de Torres*.—Pasó ante my. *Juan de Ybarreta*.—(Rúbrica.)

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de Mexico, a veinte dias del dicho mes de noviembre del dicho año, yo, el notario yuso escripto, ley e notifiqué la petición e auto de término de suso contenido a Juan de Salazar, Procurador del dicho Roberto Tomson, en su persona, el qual dixo que lo oyó. Testigos: *Juan Gomez y Bernadino Osorio*.—*Juan de Ybarreta*. (Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XVII*) En Mexico, el 27 de Noviembre de 1559 años, ante el Sr. Dr. Anguis lo presentó el contenido. Muy magnífico y muy Reverendo Señor.—*Cristóbal de Toledo*, Fiscal en el pleyto con Roberto Tomson, digo que en el término de los diez dias que se me concedió yo no he podido hacer my probanza ny retificar mys testigos, atento a lo qual pido y suplico a Vuestra merced me conceda otros diez dias mas de térmyno para que yo pueda hazer my provanza, e juro a Dios e a esta Cruz que no lo pido de malicia, salvo por que así conviene a my derecho, e pido justicia e costas, etc.—*Cristóbal de Toledo*.—(Rúbrica.)

E presentada e por el dicho Señor Provisor vista, dixo que concedía e concedió al dicho Fiscal el término de los dichos diez dias que pide, comunes a la otra parte; pasó en haz del dicho Fiscal, a quien se le notificó.—Pasó ante my.—*Juan de Ybarreta*. (Rúbrica.)

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de Mexico, a veynte e ocho dias del dicho mes de noviembre del dicho año, yo, Juan Gomez, Notario, ley y notifiqué la petición e auto de suso contenido de prorrogación de término a Juan de Salazar, Procurador del dicho Roberto Tomson, en su persona, el cual dixo que lo oyó. Testigos: *Blas de Morales y Bernadino Osorio*.—Pasó ante my.—*Juan Gomez*, Notario.—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XVIII*) En Mexico, 7 de Diz de 1559, ante el Sr. Dr. Anguis, lo presentó y juró el contenido. Muy Reverendo y muy Magnífico Señor: *Cristóbal de Toledo*, en el pleyto que trato con rroberto tomson, digo que en el término provatorio que se me dió no he podido hazer my provanza por aver estado ausentes los testigos que avía de presentar,—e a Vuestra Merced pido he suplico mande conceder diez dias mas de término, y juro a Dios y a esta Cruz que no lo pido de malicia, y pido justicia y para ello, etc.—*Cristóbal de Toledo*.—(Rúbrica.)

E presentada e por el dicho Señor Provisor vista, dijo que concedía y concedió a el dicho Fiscal diez dias mas de término que pide, comunes a la otra parte,—Pasó ante my.—*Juan de Ybarreta*.—(Rúbrica.)

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de Mexico, a doze dias del dicho mes de diziembre de myll e quinientos e cinquenta y nueve años, yo, Juan Gomez, Notario, ley y notifiqué la petición e auto de prorrogación de término de suso contenido, a Juan de Salazar, Procurador del dicho Roberto Tomson, en su

persona, el qual dixo que lo oyó. Testigos: *Juan de Ybarreta y Francisco Ramyrez*.—Pasó ante my, *Juan Gomez*, Notario.—(Rúbrica.)

Folio XIX. En Mexico, a.....años, ante el Sr. Dr. Anguis, lo presentó y juró el contenido. Por las preguntas siguientes sean preguntados los testigos que son o fueren preguntados por parte de my, Pedro de Vega, Alguazil Fiscal de este arzobispado de Mexico, en el pleyto criminal que trato con Roberto Tomson, preso en la cárcel desta ciudad.

Primeramente sean preguntados si conocen a my, el dicho Pedro de Vega, y al dicho Roberto Tomson, preso en la cárcel arzobispal.

Ytem, si saven, creen, vieron e oyeron dezir que en un día del mes de agosto próximo pasado deste presente año, estando a la mesa del Alguazil mayor, Gonzalo Cerezo, tratando sobre lo tocante a la oración, sirviendo a la dicha mesa en presencia suya y de su muger y otras muchas personas que allí estaban, dixo el dicho Roberto Tomson que las ymágenes eran de piedra y madera, y otras pinturas, y qué los haría, y que a ellas no se havia de hacer oración, ny menos a los santos del cielo.

Ytem, si saven, etc., que siendo reprehendido sobre lo que dicho es y contradiziéndole, diziéndole que no dixese tal, por que los santos que estaban pintados rrepresentaban los que estaban en el cielo, y para más eternamente tener memoria dellos los ponían (*Folio XIX vta.*) y pintaban en las yglesias, y las oraciones se hazían a los que estaban en el cielo para que intercediesen con Nuestro Señor Dios, y otras cosas, el dicho Roberto Tomson tornó a dezir e afirmar lo susodicho, estando en su opinión erética, y dixo que a los Santos del cielo no se havia de hacer oración.

Ytem, si saben, etc, que todo lo susodicho es de la opinión y seta luterana y de lo que predicán y enseñan, y yendo contra lo ynstituido y hordenado por la Santa yglesia Cathólica y los Sacros Canones y Concilios fechos por la Cathólica Yglesia.

Ytem, si saben, etc, que por la dicha razón el dicho Roberto Tomson es de la seta luterana, y porque así mismo le han visto menospreciar y maltratar los ymágenes y no los tener en nada, y por que así mismo no ha oydo ny oye los divynos oficios como es obligado, y porque no confiesa ny comulga, ny sabe ny entiende la doctrina cristiana, ny se sabe persinar, ny santiguar, ny las horaciones hordinarias.

Ytem, si saben, etc, que, además de lo susodicho, el dicho Roberto Tomson es de nación ynglés, donde todos, por la mayor parte, son luteranos, y que públicamente se predica la dicha seta y heregía (*Folio XX*) y sus padres lo son, por donde se tiene entendido y por muy cierto quel dicho Roberto Tomson es de la dicha seta luterana.

Ytem, si saben, etc, que de lo susodicho se ha seguido y sigue muy notable escándalo y mal exemplo en esta nueva españa por la esperencia que se ha visto en otras partes de no ser castigados semejantes delitos con muy grand rrigor, de donde ha procedido muy grand desasocio y de servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor. *Pedro de Vega*.—(Rúbrica)

E presentada e por el dicho Señor Provisor vista, dixo que lo da por presentada en quanto es pertinente, e por que él está ocu-

pado en cosas tocantes al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor, comedia e cometió la recepción e juramento de los testigos que fuesen presentados por parte del dicho Fiscal, a my, Juan de Ybarreta, y Juan Gomez, notario, a él y a qualquier dellos, y para ello dixo que daba todo su poder cumplido, e lo firmó.—Pasó ante my.—*Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XX vta.*) En la ciudad de Mexico, de la nueva espanya, a catorce dias de mes de octubre de myll e quinientos e cinquenta [y nueve] años, el muy Magnífico e muy Reverendo Señor, el Doctor Anguis, Juez Provisor e bicario general en este arzobispado de Mexico, así dixo que nombraba e nombró por acompañados a los muy Reverendos Padres Fray Bartolomé de Ledesma, predicador de la órden de señor Santo Domingo, compañero del muy ilustrísimo y reverendísimo Señor Don fray Alonso de Montúfar, arzobispo deste dicho arzobispado, y al Bachiller Marañon, Provisor de los indios naturales deste dicho arzobispado, para que juntamente con él se hallen a ber jurar e conocer los testigos que fueren presentados por parte del fiscal deste dicho arzobispado, e hagan la solenydad que de derecho se requiere, e siendo presentes los dichos Fray Bartolomé e el Bachiller Marañon, juraron por Dios Nuestro Señor e por las órdenes sacras que recibieron, de guardar secreto, como en tal caso se requiere. Testigos, *Gerónimo de Torres y Juan Lopez.*—Ante my. *Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica.)

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de Mexico, a veinte dias del mes de diziembre de myll e quinientos e cinquenta e nueve, el dicho Señor Provisor, por ausencia del dicho Bachiller Marañon, dixo que nombraba y nombró para lo contenido en el auto antes deste, al Bachiller Esteban de Portillo, clérigo Presbítero, e haga la solemnidad que de derecho se requiere, y el dicho Bachiller Esteban de Portillo, siendo presente, juró por Dios Nuestro Señor e por (*Folio XXI*) las órdenes sacras que recibió, guardará secreto, como en tal caso de derecho se requiere, siendo testigos *don Alonso de Carbajal y Pedro de Portillo.*—Ante my.—*Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XXII*) Dia 14 de octubre. Testigos: Gerónimo de Torres y Juan Gomez.—El dicho Manuel Borges, estante en esta dicha ciudad, siendo presentado por Cristóbal de Ortiz, Fiscal, el qual habiendo jurado e siendo preguntado por el thenor del dicho interrogatorio, dixo lo siguiente. A la primera pregunta dixo que conoce a los en ella contenidos, e a cada uno de ellos, etc. Fué preguntado por las preguntas generales e dixo que es de edad de treinta e ocho años, poco más o menos, e que no le tocan nynguna dellas, etc.—A la segunda pregunta e a las demás, dixo que este testigo tiene dicho su dicho sobre este caso en la sumaria ynformación ante el dicho Señor Provisor y en presencia de my, Juan de Ybarreta, Notario, el qual pidió le fuese leydo e mostrado el dicho su dicho que dixo a los nueve dias del mes de septiembre pasado del dicho año, e siéndole mostrado e leido el dicho su dicho, *de verbo ad verbum*, dixo que en ello se afirmaba e afirmó e ratificaba e ratificó, e siendo necesario, lo dezía de nuebo, y que lo que dicho tiene es la verdad e lo que sabe deste caso, para el juramento que tiene hecho, e lo firmó de su nombre.—*Manuel Borges.*—(Rúbrica.)—Pasó ante my.—*Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XXII vta.*) En 14—Testigos, Gerónimo de Torres, Juan de Gomez.—El dicho Gonzalo Cerezo, alguazil mayor de corte, testigo presentado por parte del dicho fiscal, el qual habiendo jura-

do, e siendo preguntado por el thenor del dicho ynterrogatorio, dixo lo siguiente. A la primera pregunta dixo que conosce a las partes.—Fué preguntado por las generales; dixo que es de edad de más de cinquenta años e que no le tocan ninguna dellas.—A la segunda e a las demás preguntas, dixo que este testigo tiene dicho su dicho sobre este caso en la sumaria ynformación ante el dicho señor Probisor y en presencia de my, el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, Notario, en nueve días del mes de septiembre del dicho año, el qual pidió a my, el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, Notario, se lo mostrase e leyese; e siéndole mostrado e leydo por my, el dicho Notario, dixo que en ello se afirmaba e afirmó e ratificó, e siendo necesario, lo decía de nuebo, y que lo que dicho tiene es verdad e lo que sabe deste caso, para el juramento que tiene fecho, e lo firmó.—*Gonzalo de Cerezo.*—(Rúbrica.)—Pasó ante my.—*Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XXIII*) En XX de diziembre, Pedro de Portillo testigo.—El dicho Sebastian Gallego, testigo presentado por parte del dicho Fiscal, el qual abiendo jurado e siendo preguntado por el thenor del dicho ynterrogatorio, dixo lo siguiente.—A la primera pregunta dixo que conosce a las dichas partes.—Fué preguntado por las preguntas generales; dixo que es de hedad de treynta e ocho años, poco mas o menos, e que no le toca ninguna dellas.—A la segunda e a las demás preguntas dixo que este testigo tiene dicho su dicho sobre este caso en la sumaria ynformación ante el dicho señor Probisor y en presencia de my, el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, Notario, en doze días del mes de setiembre pasado, deste presente año, el qual pidió a my, el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, Notario, se lo mostrase e leyese, e siéndole mostrado e leydo por my, el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, Notario, *de verbo ad verbum*, dixo que en ello se afirmaba e afirmó e ratificó, e siendo necesario lo decía de nuebo, y lo que dicho tiene es la verdad e lo que sabe deste caso, para el juramento que tiene fecho, e no lo firmó por que dixo no sabía escrebir.—Pasó ante my.—*Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XXIII vta.*) Este día. Testigo.—El dicho Jorge Manuel, paje del alguazil mayor Cerezo, testigo presentado por parte del dicho Fiscal, el qual abiendo jurado e siendo preguntado por el thenor del dicho ynterrogatorio, dixo lo siguiente.—A la primera pregunta dixo que conosce a las dichas partes.—Fué preguntado por las preguntas generales; dixo que es de hedad de deziocho años, poco mas o menos, e que no le toca ninguna dellas.—A la segunda e a las demás preguntas dixo que este testigo tiene dicho su dicho sobre este caso en la sumaria ynformación antel dicho señor Probisor y en presencia de my, el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, Notario, en doze días del mes de setiembre deste presente año, el qual pidió a my, el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, notario, se lo mostrase e leyese, e siéndole mostrado e leydo por my, el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, notario, el dicho su dicho, dixo que en ello se afirmaba e afirmó e ratificó, e siendo necesario lo decía de nuebo, y que lo que dicho tiene es la verdad e lo que sabe deste caso, para el juramento que tiene hecho, e no lo firmó porque dixo que no sabía escrebir.—Pasó ante my.—*Juan de Ybarreta.*—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XXIV*) En Mexico, en XXII de diziembre de 1559 años, antel señor doctor Anguys, la presentó el contenido.—(Una rúbrica.)—Muy Reverendo y muy Magnífico Señor.—Cristóbal de Toledo, Alguacil Fiscal deste arzobispado, en el pleyto que trato contra Roberto Tomson sobre lo que está avisado, digo que el

término probatorio es pasado, pido publicación a Vuestra Merced; pido y suplico la mande hazer, y hecha, renuncio el término della y concluyo definitivamente; pido y suplico a Vuestra Merced mande aber el dicho pleyto por concluso definitivamente, y lo mande ver y determinar, haziendo en el caso según y como en la dicha causa está pedido y demandado, y así lo pido, y sobre todo justicia, y el oficio de vuestra merced ynploro.—*Xpoval de Toledo*.—(Rúbrica).

E presentada e por el dicho señor Probisor bista, dixo que mandaba e mandó dar traslado de la dicha petición a la otra parte, e que para la primera audiencia responda.—Pasó ante my.—*Juan de Ybarreta*.—(Rúbrica).

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de México, a ocho días del mes de henero de myll e quinientos e sesenta años, yo, el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, notario, ley e notifiqué la dicha petición, con lo en ella proveído por el dicho señor Provisor, a Juan de Salazar, procurador de pobres, en su persona, el qual dixo que lo oyó. Testigos: *Juan Gomes* y *Bartolomé de Urquiza*.—*Juan de Ybarreta*.—(Rúbrica).

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de Mexico, a quinze dias del dicho mes e año, ante my, el dicho notario, yuso escripto, parezió Juan de Salazar en nombre del dicho Roberto Tomson, y dixo que consyente e a por bien que se haga la dicha publicación, y lo firmó.—*Johan de Salazar* (Rúbrica).—Pasó ante mí.—*Juan Gomez*, notario (Rúbrica).

(Folio XXIV vta.) *Publicación*. E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de Mexico, el dicho día quinze de henero del dicho año, el muy magnífico y muy reverendo señor, el bachiller Alvaro Perez Marañón, Juez Provysor oficial y Vicario general en este arzobispado de Mexico.—Dixo que tomando como tomó este pleyto en el punto y estado en que está, e que atento que las dichas partes an pedido haga publicación, que él la hazía, y de los testigos y provanzas en este proceso tomados y recibidos, que los dava y dió por avyertos y publicados, y mandó dar dellos copia y traslado a las partes, para que digan e aleguen de su derecho en el término de la ley, e lo firmó.—*El Bachiller Marañón*.—(Rúbrica).—Pasó ante my, *Juan Gómez*, Notario. (Rúbrica).

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de Mexico, a diez e seis dias del dicho mes e año, Yo, el dicho notario, notifiqué la dicha publicación al dicho Juan de Salazar, procurador del dicho Roberto Tomson, en su persona, el qual dixo que lo oyó. Testigos: *Benyto de la Torre* y el *Lizenciado de la Mancha*.—Pasó ante my.—*Juan Gómez*, Notario. (Rúbrica).

E luego, este dicho día, mes e año susodicho, Yo, el dicho notario, notifiqué la dicha publicación al dicho fiscal en su persona, el qual dixo que lo oyó. Testigos, los dichos.—Pasó ante my, *Juan Gomez*, notario.—(Rúbrica.)

(Folio XXV)—En Mexico, a XVIII de henero de 1560 años, ante el señor bachiller Marañón, lo presentó el contenido en el dicho nombre. (Una rúbrica.)—Muy Reverendo e muy magnífico señor.—*Johan de Salazar*, en nombre de Roberto Tonson, en el pleito con el fiscal en lo tocante al Santo Ofisio, digo que vista por vuestra merced la probanza hecha por el dicho fiscal, e aclaro que aunque mi parte a confesado algo de lo que es acusado, en la dicha probanza y testigos ay contradizió, pues deponiendo todos de un hecho que acaezió en un día y en presencia de todos, ay uno de los

dichos testigos, que se dize Jorge, que depone diferentemente de los demás, por donde vienen a ser singulares, e abra quel caso sea tocante al santo oficio de la ynquisición, por la dicha bariedad e singularidad los dichos testigos no dexan de padezer defeto y tacha, e abra que aya confesion de parte, como no esté probado el delito no de aver pena.—Por tanto, a Vuestra Merced pido, bisto el dicho procezo, haga diligencias, así con los dichos testigos como con el dicho mi parte, para saber la berdad, de manera quel dicho mi parte libremente confiese, y pido justicia. *Licenciado Cabellos*.—(Rúbrica).

E presentada y por el dicho señor Provisor bista, dixo que mandaba y mandó dar della traslado a la otra parte, e que responda a ella para la primera audiencia.—Pasó ante my.—*Juan Gomez*, notario.—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XXV vta.*) E despues de lo susodicho, en la dicha ziudad de Mexico, a diez e nueve días del dicho mes de henero del dicho año, Yo, el dicho notario, notifiqué la dicha petición e auto desta otra parte contenido, a Xpoval de Toledo, fiscal, en su persona, el qual dixo que lo oyó. Testigos: *Martin de Arana y Blas de Morales*.—Pasó ante my, *Juan Gómez*, notario. (Rúbrica).

(*Folio XXVI*) En Mexico, a XXII de henero de 1560 años, antel señor doctor Anguys, la presentó el qontenido.—Muy magnífico y muy reverendo señor.—Xpoval de Toledo, fiscal deste Arzobispado, en pleyto criminal que trato contra Roberto Tomzon, yn-glés, sobre lo questá acusado, y con Juan de Salazar, en su nombre, digo que sin embargo de lo dicho y alegado por parte del dicho Tonzon en una petición en diez e ocho dias deste presente mes y año presentada, se a y deve mandar hazer, según y como por my parte está pedido, y no hazer al caso lo que de contrario se dize contra los testigos en la dicha causa tomados y recibidos, pues consta aver dicho verdad en sus dichos debaxo de juramento, y no tienen contradición alguna, como de contrario se espresa, y no a lugar hazerse diligencia en el caso, a lo menos de pedimento de la parte contraria, y si alguna diligencia se a de hazer y es necesaria, podrá hazer conforme a la calidad del delicto.—A Vuestra merced pido y suplico mande a ver el dicho pleyto por concluso definitivamente, y lo mande ver y determinar, haciendo en el caso mas convenga y sea necesario, y según y como por mi parte está pedido, y ansi lo pido, y sobre todo justicia.

(*Folio XXVI vta.*) y negando lo perjudicial, concluyo definitivamente y pido costas.—*Xpoval de Toledo*.—(Rúbrica.)

E presentada, e por el dicho señor Provisor vista, dixo que avya e uvo el dicho pleyto por concluso definitivamente y las razones del por zerradas, e asignaba e asignó a las dichas partes término para dar en él sentencia cada día que feriado no sea, e que si algunas diligencias ovyer que hazer, las reservaba y reservó para sy para que syendo necesario, se hagan. Paso en haz de los dichos Xpoval de Toledo, fiscal, y Juan de Salazar, a quien se les notificó e se zitaron en forma y se dieron por zitados. Testigos: *Blas de Morales y Juan Gómez*.—*El Doctor Anguis*.—Ante my, *Juan de Ybareta*.—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XXVII*) En la dicha ziudad de Mexico, a nueve dias del mes de marzo de myll e quinientos y sesenta años, el muy magnífico y muy reverendo señor, el doctor Luis de Anguis, Provisor, por presencia de los muy Reverendos Padres Fray Bartolomé de Ledesma y Fray Francisco de Espinosa, de la horden de señor Santo Domingo, estando en la cárcel arzobispal desta ziudad,

hizo parecer ante sy a Roberto Tomson, que en ella estaba preso, y del fué tomado y recibido juramento en forma de derecho por Dios y por Santa María y por una señal de Cruz, so cargo del qual prometió de dezir verdad de lo que supiese y le fuese preguntado, y el dicho señor Provisor, syn perjuyzio de la conclusyón que está hecha en esta causa, y para más averiguazión della, de su oficio le hizo las preguntas siguientes.

Preguntado como se llama e que edad tiene, dixo que se llama Roberto Tomson y es de edad de veynte e zinco años, poco mas o menos.

Preguntado si este confesante sabe las horaciones de la yglesia, que son el *Pater noster*, *credo*, *salve Regina* y *ave Maria*, dixo que sy sabe, y por el dicho Señor Provisor le fué mandado las dixese en latín o en romance o castellano, pues lo sabe hablar, y el dicho Roberto Tomson dixo que en su lengua ynglesa y en francesa sabe las dichas horaciones, por que en latín y romance no las sabe.—Preguntado si este confesante sabe escribir en romance castellano, dixo que sy sabe escribir en romance. Preguntado que, pues save escribir en romance como dice, que no sabe las dichas horaciones en romance ny latín, dixo que este confesante quando reza, reza en su lengua las dichas horaciones y no se a dado a deprenderlas en romance (*Folio XXVII vta.*) El dicho señor Provisor mandó al dicho Roberto Tomson las escriva en su lengua las dichas horaciones que están dichas, y el susodicho comenzó luego a escribir, y dió un papel escripto al dicho señor probisor, firmado de su nombre, en el qual dixo está escripto en su lengua el *Credo*, *Paternoster*, *Abe Marya* y *Salve rregina*.

Preguntado si es verdad que estando este confesante en casa de Gonzalo Cerezo, alguazil mayor de Corte, en un aposento donde thenya su cama junto a ella Jorge Manuel, page del dicho alguazil mayor, colgó de un clavo una ymagen de Nuestra Señora, y este confesante la quitó y puso una gorra, poniendo la dicha ymagen enzima de una caxa, y el dicho Jorge Manuel dixo a este confesante que, por qué abia quitado de allí la dicha imagen, y este confesante le respondió que, por que le enbarazava el clavo donde estava su gorra; dixo no pasó ny ay tal cosa, syno ques mentira que se le levanta, e que esto es lo que pasó y la verdad, para el juramento que hizo, en lo que se afirmó y ratificó, siéndole leydo y firmolo, y el dicho señor Probisor y los dichos muy reverendos padres.—*El Doctor Anguis.* (Rúbrica.)—*Roberto Tomson,* (Rúbrica.)—*Fray Bartholomé de Ledesma,* (Rúbrica.)—Ante my, *Juan de Ybarreta,* (Rúbrica.)

Credo

(*Folio XXVIII.*) I belive in god the father almyghtit maker of heven and of herth and in Jesu Chrito his onli son our lord which was consebid by the holigot boren of the vyrgyn mari sufrud under Pons Pilat was crucified ded and burid and assendyd (*sic*) in to hel the thurd day ros agayn from deth to lyfe and assendid in to heven ther he setyth on the ryght hond of god the almygit from ther he shal com to judge the quycke and the ded I belive in the holy gost the holy cathholyc church the comunyon of saynts the forgyvenes of sines the Resurrexion of the body and the lyfe everlastyng, Amen.

Paternoster

Our father which art in heven, halowyd by thy name, thy

kingdom com thy wyl be don in hurth as hit is in heven gyve us this day our dayli bred and forgyve us our trespasses as we forgyve them that trespass agaynst us, and sufer us not to be led in to non yebel tentacion but delyver us from al yvel, Amen.

Abemaria

Hayl mari ful of grace our lords mother blessid art thowo among al wyemen and blesyd is the frut of thi bely, Amen.

Salve Regina

hal virgin quin mother of god mother of merci mother of piti praye thow for us to thy son our lord Jesu Christ that we maye be abel to atayn the promicion of christ for thow arrt our abogado, our hop and our trust for ever and ever, Amen.—*Roberto Tomson*. (Rúbrica).

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ziadad de Mexico, a onze dias del mes de marzo de myll e quinientos e sesenta años, el dicho señor doctor Anguis, Jues Probisor e Bicario general en este Arzobispado de Mexico, dixo que, atento que el dicho Roberto Tomson es ladino en nuestra lengua castellana y la sabe (*Folio XXVIIIvta.*) escribir, tradusga luego letra por letra las dichas oraciones que están en su lengua en la dicha lengua castellana, e lo firme de su nombre.—*El Doctor Anguis*.—(Rúbrica)—Ante my, *Juan de Ybarreta*.—(Rúbrica).

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ciudad de Mexico, este dicho dia onze de marzo del dicho año, yo, el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, notario, ley e notifiqué el auto de suso contenido al dicho Roberto Tomson, en su persona, el qual dixo que estaba presto de cumplir lo que se le manda, y luego se puso a escrebir.—*Tes-tigos, Juan Gomez y Agustín Bravo*.—*Juan de Ybarreta*.—(Rúbrica)

Credo

(*Folio XXIX*). Creo en dios padre todo poderoso creador del cielo e de la tierra e en Jesu cristo su único hijo que fué consebido del espiritu santo e nació de la Virgen Santa Marya padeció su poncio pilato fué crucificado muerto e sepultado dessendió a los infiernos e sacó los santos padres el tercero dia resussitó de los muertos e asendió al cielo a la diestra de dios padre e donde vendar a juzgar los vibos e los muertos, creo en el espiritu santo e en la santa Yglesia catolicam en la comunión de los santos por virtud de los sacramentos la resurrección de la carne la remición de los pecados e en la vida eternal, Amen.

Pater Nostar

Nuestro Padre que está en los cielos santificado sea tu nombre tu reyno nos a viene tu voluntad sea hecho en la tierra como en el cielo danos oy nuestro pan cotediano e perdone nos nuestros pacados como perdonamos a los que nos han ofendido e no nos dexé entrar en tentación mas guarde nos de mal, Amen.

Ave María

Abe maria llena de gracia nuestro señor está contigo tu eras bendita subre todas las mugere e bendita es la fruta de la tu vientra Jusú santa maria madre de dios ruega por nosotros pecadore, Amen.

Salberegina

Dios te salve virgen e madre de dios señora de los angeles
abogado nuestro ruega por nosotros a tu precioso hijo o dulce
o piadoso o benino virgin a ti clamamos a ti lloramos a su-
plicamos los desterados hijos de eva ruega a tu precioso hijo
que seamos dinos de las promisiones de cristo, amen.—*Roberto
Tomson.*—(Rúbrica.)

(*Folio XXX*) En el pleyto criminal que se ha hecho entre
Cristóbal de Toledo, Fiscal deste arzobispado de México, y Ro-
berto Tomson, Ynglés, preso en la cárcel arzobispal, sobre quel
dicho Fiscal le acusa aver dicho ziertas eregías luteranas, las
quales por causas que a ello me mueven no se espezifican, y de
la dicha acusación mandé dar traslado al dicho Roberto Tomson,
y para que alegase de su justizia, y por ser pobre le provey de
letrado y Procurador de Pobres, y por su parte se alegaron he-
xecciones y defensiones, y aviendo concluydo para prueba am-
bas las dichas partes, fueron por my rrezibidas a prueba con
zierto término, y el dicho Roberto Tomson fué condenado por
testigos y por sus mismas confesiones, y pasado el término pro-
batorio pidieron publicación e yo la hize, y se notificó a las di-
chas partes, las quales, pasado el término de la dicha publica-
ción, concluyeron definitivamente, e yo ube el dicho pleyto por
concluso, y les mandé zitar en forma para oyr sentencia, y sien-
do zitados y por my visto el dicho pleyto y los autos y méritos
del a que me refiero.—Fallo quel dicho Fiscal provó bien y cum-
plidamente su acusación y lo que provarle convino, doyla y
pronunciola por bien provada, y el dicho Roberto Tomson no
aver provado sus exebziones y defensiones ny cosa que le apro-
veche, doylas y pronunciolas por no provadas, en consecuencia
de lo qual, por la culpa que del dicho proceso resulta contra el
dicho Roberto Tomson, le debo de declarar y declaro aver yncu-
rrido en sentencia de excomunión mayor y aver estado ligado en
ella, desde que cometió las heregías de que fué acusado, y en
perdimiento y confiscación de todos sus bienes, los quales aplico
para la cámara y fisco de Su Magestad, y mando quei dicho Ro-
berto Tomson, mañana, Domingo, sea llevado a la Sancta yglesia
desta ziudad de México, y en la Capilla mayor della, en un
tablado, esté públicamente descalzo y destocado en pie en cuerpo
y con una candela de cera en las manos, y con un san Benito de
dos cruces, una a los pechos y otra a las espaldas, al sermón que
en la dicha santa yglesia se predicará el dicho Domingo, y allí
adjure toda especie de heregía que en qualquier manera sea con-
tra nuestra sancta fee cathólica, y en espezial la que a thenido
y de que fué acusado, y fecha la dicha abjurazion, sea absuelto
de la dicha ex-comunión en que por ello ha yncurrido, y condeno
al dicho Roberto Tomson a que trayga puesto el dicho San Be-
nito dos años cumplidos, primeros siguientes, y un año de prición
y cárcel en los rreynos de Castilla, y hecha la dicha penitencia
en la dicha Santa yglesia, sea vuelto a la dicha cárcel arzobispal,
y della, por causas que a ello me mueven, mando que sea llevado
al puerto de San Juan de Ulua, y entregado preso con el testimo-
nio del dicho procesoy desta my sentencia a Hortuno de Ybarra,
que va por general de la flota, que de presente está presta en el
dicho puerto, para los dichos rreynos de Castilla, al qual mando
(*Folio XXX vta.*) virtud de santa ovediencia y so pena de exco-
munyón mayor, lo rreziba e mande poner preso y a buen rrecau-

do en uno de los navíos de la dicha flota, e al maestre a quien se entregare de los pesos de horo, que por una sentenzia definitiva que en este día dí y pronuncié contra Agustín Bocazio, genovés, se confiscaron y aplicaron para la cámara de su Magestad, se le den y paguen zinquenta pesos de horo común por la comyda y flete del dicho Roberto Tomson hasta la ziudad de Sevilla, y en ella el dicho general lo entregue con el dicho testimonio a los muy Magníficos y muy Reverendos Señores ynquisidores de la dicha ziudad de Sevilla, para que le señalen el lugar y parte donde ha de thener la dicha cárcel; y mando al dicho Roberto Tomson que cumpla y guarde todo lo contenido en esta my sentenzia, sin exceder en cosa alguna della, so pena de rrelado (relaxado), y por esta my sentenzia definitiva, juzgando asy, lo pronunzio y mando en estos escriptos y por ellos, sin costas.—*El Doctor Ánguis.* (Rúbrica.)

Dada y pronunciada fué la dicha sentenzia de suso contenido por el dicho Señor Provisor en la ziudad de México, a diez e seis dias del mes de marzo de myll e quinientos y sesenta años, siendo testigos *Juan Gómez*, Notario, y *Gerónimo de Torres*, estantes en esta ziudad.—Ante my, *Juan de Ybarreta*,—Rúbrica.

E después de lo susodicho, en la dicha ziudad de Mexico, a diez y siete dias del mes de marzo del dicho año de myll e quinientos e sesenta años, yo, el dicho Juan de Ybarreta, Notario, doy fee y verdadero testimonio que oy, dicho día Domingo, quando en dicha sentenzia ley la dicha sentenzia desde un púlpito y notifiqué al dicho Roberto Tomson, el qual, en cumplimiento de ella, estuvo en un tablado en la dicha Santa yglesia, al sermón en ella se predicó según y de la manera que en la dicha sentenzia se contiene, y abjuró las dichas heregías de que fué acusado en forma, estando presentes los muy Magníficos Señores Oydores de la Real Audiencia desta ziudad e otra mucha gente, en fee de lo cual lo firmo de my nombre.—*Joan de Ybarreta*, Notario Público Apostólico. (Rúbrica.)—Sin derechos por pobre.—(Una rúbrica.)

FIN DEL PROCESO

APPENDIX NO. II.

On page 91, in referring to the letter written by Leonard Chilton to Henry Hawks, the Editor was under the impression that the original English document was missing from Vol. 49 of the Inquisition Records. Since the notes to the Voyage of Robert Tomson were printed, he has made a further examination of the original *proceso* and finds the letter intact. The following is an exact transcript:

Jesus the V of Julye an^o 1567 in Calls. [Cadiz]. Wurshipfull-
after my Ryght hartly comendasyons yor helthe wth content
desyred to the plezure of God etc. As dayes past I herd by the
waye of syvell of yor saffe aryva in the palma wch I was glad
to here of and doo truste in God or yett be longe to here of yor
safe aryvall also in the nova españa wch I shall thinke Longe
to here of etc. after yor departing I went to sentlucars where I
Found yor bedffellowe sycke butt now is well thanks be vnto God
and is in thomas Walles howse mery as I am sewere you shall
have Lettars by this flete as also yor brotheredward goes in wone
of the shipes at sentay Locars ffor the nova esspaña of whome
you may be informyd of the nedffull. this weeke paste yor ffrind
Valderamees was here and dyned in my howse at the request of
robard Harvy who saythe that ffor the spase of one yere he will
bere wth you butt afterwards yf you do not remembar him wth
som what he will secke you thowghe yt be to the worlds end as he
seythe etc, yowre ffrnd John Frampton ⁽¹⁾ is at a pownt wth all
his credytars howe to paye them in thre yeres and thre monthes,
vmffrye ryckthorne came hether Twyse and thowght to have bownd
beares butt he was ffayne to do what Seroudo wold have him do
and reseves the moste parte of the dett there apon mr typtons
aventor etc. this yere thankes be vnto god we have no ffere of
the tork and more ffor that the coste is well kepte wth the galles
esspayñe and Italy and at this presentt John andrea dorya is
here wth 34 galle and hath don myche good upon the coste as you
shall here of other etc, newes owt of England I have not to wryte
you butt that all is in good pese and quyetnes and an Imbasytor
loked ffor who I suppe be there or this ffrom the emperador to
have his brother to mareye wth the quenes maiestye wch many
thinke will take plase etc, the mattars of Flandars ar stablyshed
God be prayسد therefore In a manar as the Kings maiestye of

(1)—John Frampton was the English merchant who translated Monardes' "Joyfull
Newes out of the Newe founde Worlde", dedicated to Edward Dyer in 1577.

esspayne wold have yt yet yf his Maiestye go not thether himselffe
 I fferre me It will not Rest so etc, the sayng was that the docke
 of Alva was apon Jeneva wth his campe butt yt is not so. here
 is grette preparasyon still ffor wares som saythe ffor one plase
 and som ffor another I suppose they will geve a sawyte apon
 argel god geve his maiestye good suces and vycторыe.

I praye you yf you tary there any tyme to wryt me ffrom
 tyme to tyme of yor helthe and prosedings & how all ovr
 ffrinds dothe there and how they prosper and ther menyngs as
 nere as you maye Towching ther comyng ffor esspayne, here of
 I praye you [not?] to ffayle and to be a mene that my brother
 robard Swyting have more remembrans of his parents then he
 hath had also I praye you lett my brother Andres have yor good
 consell and to be his ffrind in that you maye as I know yor ar.
 I do not wrytt unto him till I here of his aryvall ther Therffore I
 praye you lett this soffyse vnto him ffor the pr [esent] here wth
 I do wrytte vnto my bother robard Swyting a [nd] to ovr owld
 ffrind rafe Sare and to John Umpton to the wch do Reffar me,
 all your ffrinds here and in sentlocars ar [in] helthe thank be
 unto god and here we have us all [co] mended vnto you and thus
 ffor the present I sease an [d] do Rest all wayes att your
 Comawndymentt.

I am wrytten ffrom the corte that rogar bodnam ⁽¹⁾ is apoynted
 by the Kynges maiestye to goo ffor the nova esspaine and from
 thens to be one of the ffyve that his maiestye has apoynted to go
 ffor the chyna as yet I have Rsd no Letter ffrom rogar bodnam
 thereof butt do locke every daye ffor [news] ffrom him to whome
 it maye plese god to geve so good s [uc] ses as I desyre etc.

Leonard Chilton.

(1)—Rogar Bodnam is the Roger Bodenham who wrote a short account of his
 voyage to San Juan de Ulua and the City of Mexico in the year 1564. This
 account was first published by Hakluyt in 1589. It is also quite probable that
 he is the same Roger Bodenham who made the voyage in 1550 to the islands
 of Candia and Chio, in the Levant. (See Hakluyt, Vol. V., pp. 71-76, Vol. IX.
 pp. 359-360.)

APPENDIX No. III

List of original Documents among the Inquisition Records in the Mexican National Archives, relating to the Trials of Englishmen and others associated with them who were condemned as Lutheran Heretics in Mexico between the years 1559 and 1575.

(1)

TRIALS PRIOR TO THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
REGULAR INQUISITION IN 1571.

1. ROBERT TOMSON, age 25, a native of Andover, Hampshire, England. For heretical remarks.

Vol. 32. No. 8. 32 folios. 1559-1560

2. GUILLERMO (William) DE ORLANDO, age 19; a native of London; one of the hostages made prisoner at San Juan de Ulua in September 1568. Was sent to Spain in April 1569 and died in the dungeons of Seville 21st. February 1570.

Vol. 9. No. 6. 13 folios. 1569

3. ROBERT BARRET, age 25 (in 1568); a native of Saltash in Cornwall; a cousin of Francis Drake. Barret was Master of the "Jesus of Lubeck", John Hawkins's flagship. At San Juan de Ulua Hawkins sent him with a message to the Viceroy, "who did stowhim immediately under the hatches." After his trial in Mexico he was sent to Spain in 1571 and was burnt in the auto de fe at Seville in 1573 (?) (See Hakluyt, Glasgow Ed., Vol. IX pp. 445-465)

Vol. 49. No. 2. 11 folios. 1570

4. HENRY HAWKS (Pero Sánchez), age 35; a native of Tavistock in Devonshire; arrested for heresy in the mines of Zacatecas in

the Bishopric of New Galicia. He was sentenced at Guadalajara, 16th May 1571, to abjure *de vehementi* while hearing mass as a penitent, and condemned to perpetual exile from New Spain. Immediately after his abjuration on the 4th June 1571 he escaped from prison. Hawks is the author of *A relation of the Commodities of Nova Hispania, and the maners of the inhabitants, written by Henry Hawkes, Marchant, which lived 5 yeeres in the said Countrey, and drewe the same at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt, Esquire, of Eiton in the Countie on Hereford 1572.* (Hakluyt, 1589 ed., pp. 545-553.) It is interesting to note that Hawks wrote his account the year following his escape from Mexico, and says nothing of his trial by the episcopal Inquisitors. Richard Hakluyt was at that time about twenty years of age, and a graduate of Christchurch, Oxford.

Vol. 49. No. 7. 70 folios,

1571

(2)

AUTO DE FE, 28th FEB. 1574.

Englishmen and others from the Fleet of Captain John Hawkins, who were taken prisoners at San Juan de Ulua or put ashore in the Gulf of Mexico, north of Tampico, in the year 1568.

5. DAVID ALEXANDER, age 19 (in 1573); a native of Sodlu (? South Looe, in Cornwall), a page on the "Minion", the vice-flagship of Hawkins. He was one of those put ashore in the Gulf of Mexico, a little north of Tampico. Was sentenced to three years seclusion in the Monastery of San Francisco. In 1585 David Alexander wished to go to the Philippines to serve Philip II, in the wars, but was prohibited by the Inquisitors to bear arms.

Vol. 52. No. 3. 158 folios.

1572-1585

6. GUILLERMO CALENS (William Collins), age 40; a native of Oxford. He was a seaman on board the "Jesus of Lubeck", and on Hawkins's return voyage in the "Minion" was among those put ashore to the north of Tampico. In Mexico he was known as Miguel Cabello because, as he explained to the Inquisitors, Calens (or Collins) means "cabello" (hair) in English. He was sentenced to ten years at the galleys in Spain. Collins was the subject of enquiry by Queen Elizabeth in 1575. (See Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, 1568-1579. pp. 491-492.)

Vol. 52. No. 4. 192 folios.

1572-1574

7. JUAN ESTORE (John Storey). Born in London of Scotch parents; age about 16. He was a "grumete" on board the

"Swallow", but escaped from San Juan de Ulua in the "Minion" and was put ashore near Tampico. Was sentenced to be secluded in the Monastery of Santo Domingo, where he remained until December 1578.

Vol. 53. No. 1. 90 folios.

1572-1578

8 JUAN FARENTON, a native of Windsor; age 49. He was arrested at the mines of Zacatecas. Farenton, who was captured at San Juan de Ulua, was one of ten gunners on board the "Jesus of Lubeck." As he spoke no Spanish, Robert Sweeting acted as his interpreter during the trial. Sentenced to serve for six years in the galleys of Spain.

Vol. 53. No. 2. 127 folios.

1572-1574

9. JOHN BRETON (or Burton), a native of Bar Abbey in England. Age about 22. He was a sailor on the "Minion" and among those put ashore near Tampico. Was subjected to torture during his trial and condemned to receive 200 stripes and to serve six years in the galleys.

Vol. 53. No. 5. 117 folios.

1572-1574

10. PABLO DE LEON, a Hollander; born in Rotterdam. Age about 22. He joined the "Jesus of Lubeck" at Plymouth in 1567. Was put ashore from the "Minion", near Tampico. During his trial he was subjected to torture. Was condemned to receive 200 stripes and to serve six years in the galleys.

Vol. 53. No. 7. 86 folios.

1572-1574

11. ROBERT COOK, a native of London. Age about 20. His real name he gave as Robert Mendez (? Mennes). He was cook's boy on board the "Jesus of Lubeck", and escaped from San Juan de Ulua in the "Minion", but was put ashore near Tampico. At his trial he was sentenced to serve three years in a monastery, but, as there was a difference of opinion between the Inquisitors, his case was referred to the Supreme Council in Spain. In the meantime he was employed as a servant in the Hospital de Nuestra Señora (Hospital de Jesús). He was not formally sentenced until December 1577, when he was ordered to be kept as a servant for six months in the Inquisition buildings.

Vol. 54. No. 1. 28 folios.

1572-1577

12. MAILS (Miles Philips), or by another name "Miguel Pérez", a native of London. In February 1572 he gave his age as 18. In his evidence he stated that his father's and uncle's name was Gils (? Gill or Hill). He was a page to Captain John Hawkins on board the "Jesus of Lubeck", and escaped with him on the "Minion", but was later put ashore on the coast near Tampico. Was sentenced to serve three years in the buildings of the *Compañía de Jesús*, and formally released 7th. May 1577. Miles Philips is the author of the narrative describing the voyage of Hawkins's fleet, published by Hakluyt in 1589. (pp. 562-578) This *proceso* is in very bad condition and crumbling to pieces.

Vol. 54. No. 2. 70 folios.

1572-1577

13. GUILLERMO GRIFEN (William Griffen), a Welshman, born in Bristol. Age between 24 and 27. He was a sailor on board the "Jesus of Lubeck". In his evidence he stated that he had been

on a previous voyage to the West Indies with Captain John Lovell, in 1566-1567. After the San Juan de Ulua affair he was put ashore from the "Minion" on the coast, near Tampico. During his trial he was subjected to torture. He was sentenced to receive 200 stripes in the auto de fe of February 1574, and to serve eight years in the galleys. The original *proceso* is in a mutilated condition and cannot be copied, but long extracts from Griffen's evidence are to be found in other trials.

Vol. 54. No. 4. 98 folios.

1572-1574

14. JORGE RIBLI (George Ribley or Riveley), a resident of Gravesend. Age about 30. He was a sailor on the "Jesus of Lubeck", and was among those put ashore from the "Minion". When arrested in 1572 he was working in the mines of Guanajuato. George Riveley was the only Englishman who was sentenced to death in the auto de fe of 1574. His body was burned at the stake, after strangulation, on the 28th February.

Vol. 54. No. 5. 120 folios,

1572-1574

15. ANDRES MARTIN, a native of Brittany; age about 17. He was a cabin boy on board the "Judith", and escaped from San Juan de Ulua in the "Minion". He was put ashore on the coast near Tampico. The inquisitors first voted to submit him to torture, but in the auto de fe he was absolved and sent to Spain.

Vol. 54. No. 6. 71 folios.

1572-1574

16. PABLO HAQUINES DE LA CRUZ (Paul Hawkins), a native of London. In 1572 he gave his age as about 15 or 16. In his evidence he stated that he was a nephew and page of Captain John Hawkins and served with him on the "Jesus of Lubeck". His father was Robert Hawkins, paymaster of the Queen's fleet. His uncles, he stated, were "John Hawkins, Captain-General of the Fleet of England, and a brother of the last named, whom he did not know". He further stated that he had three brothers, Peter, John and Robert, and a sister named Ana. Apparently, he was left on board the "Jesus of Lubeck" when she was captured in the port of San Juan de Ulua. He was arrested in October, 1572, in the mines of Sombrerete in Zacatecas. At first the Inquisitors sentenced him to seclusion in a monastery, but owing to a difference of opinion between them, his case, together with that of Robert Cook and John Storey, was submitted to the Supreme Council in Spain. In the meantime he was kept in mild imprisonment in the Inquisition buildings until December 1577, when he was condemned to wear the sambenito for one year, and was handed over to Juan de Marquina, a resident of the City of Mexico, to be instructed in the matters of the Catholic faith. After his release Paul Hawkins married and settled in Mexico.

The documents in the National Archives include also a number referring to his descendants between the years 1685 and 1698. In addition, there is also a *proceso* against Paul Hawkins and five others, for attempting to escape from the Inquisition jail in March 1573.

Vol. 55. No. 1. 97 folios.

1572-1576

Vol. 55. No. 2. 131 folios.

1574-1698

Vol. 212. No. 17. 117 folios.

1573

17. JOHN PERRIN. Described himself as a native of Emden, in

Flanders (Emden in East Friesland, Germany) and gave his age as 19. He was taken by his parents at an early age to London, where his father was cook in the Royal Palace. He joined the "Jesus of Lubeck" as a page to John Hawkins. After the San Juan de Ulua affair he was put ashore near Tampico. In the auto de fe of 1574 he was sentenced to serve five years in the Monastery of San Agustin, but his behaviour led to a further trial in March 1576, when he was condemned to serve four years in the galleys of Spain.

Vol. 55. No. 2. 76 and 18 folios.

1572-1576

18. TOMAS EBREN (also called Hull), born in Bristol, and in 1572 was about 17 or 18 years of age. He was a servant of Thomas Hull, the cooper (tonelero) on the "Jesus of Lubeck", and was left on board the ill-fated flagship at San Juan de Ulua. He was sentenced, in the auto de fe of 1574, to serve three years in the Monastery of Santo Domingo and, some time during that period, died there.

Vol. 55. No. 3. 80 folios

1572-1574

19. JOHN MUN (Moon), a native of Looe in Cornwall, age 26. A sailor on the "Jesus of Lubeck", and one of the number put ashore from the "Minion". In his evidence he mentions that in 1566-1567 he had sailed to the West Indies on a previous voyage with Captain John Lovell, who was accompanied by Francis Drake, and one month after his return he joined the "Jesus of Lubeck" at Plymouth. John Moon was condemned to receive 200 stripes in the auto de fe, and to serve six years in the galleys of Spain.

Vol. 55. No. 4. 86 folios.

1572-1574

20. ROLDAN ESCALART, a native of Normandy; age about 25. He left the port of Honfleur on a ship called "El Espíritu Santo", whose captain was Jean Planes. This ship was captured by Hawkins at Cape Verde and re-named by him "The Grace of God". He escaped on the "Minion", and was one of those put ashore near Tampico. Captain Planes is the Captain Bland of Job Hortop's narrative. (See Hakluyt, Vol. IX., p. 446, Glasgow ed.) Roldan Escalart was released by the Inquisitors as it was proved that he was a good Catholic and came with the English Lutherans, not of his own free will, but by force. He was sent to Spain in the fleet that sailed from the port of Vera Cruz on the 15th April 1574.

Vol. 55. No. 5. 44 folios.

1572-1574

21. JOHN LEE, a native of the town of Sebria (?) in England, age 20. His father was an officer of Philip II, in England, during Mary Tudor's reign. He left England with Hawkins's fleet on board the "Swallow". His father, who was the chief gunner, was killed at San Juan de Ulua. John Lee escaped on the "Minion", and was put ashore on the coast near Tampico. In Mexico he was employed as a hosier. Was sentenced to receive 200 stripes in the auto de fe, and to serve eight years in the galleys of Spain.

Vol. 56. No. 3. 99 folios.

1572-1574

22. RICARDO GUILLERMO (Richard Williams), also called in New Spain "Juan Sánchez." He was a native of Bristol, age about 20. He was a servant to Robert Barret on board the "Jesus:

of Lubeck'', and was among those put ashore from the "Minion". In the auto de fe he was sentenced to serve five years in the monastery of San Francisco, and was released as a good Christian on 10th March 1578.

Vol. 56. No. 54. 158 folios.

1572-1578

23. GUILLERMO LO (William Low), a native of Bristol. In his evidence he gave his age in December 1572 as 12; but he must have been much older. He was a dwarf and one of the musicians on the "Jesus of Lubeck." At San Juan de Ulua he was made prisoner and taken to Mexico City, where the friars of San Agustín took a kindly interest in him. In the auto de fe of 1574 he was sentenced to be secluded in the monastery of San Agustín, and was released on 10th March, 1575. Miles Philips, in his Narrative (see Hakluyt, Vol. IX., pp. 430-1) says that he "and William Lowe were appointed to the Blackfriars", but his memory was at fault. Philips also mentions that "William Lowe had leave and license to go into Spain, where he is now married."

Vol. 56. No. 5. 70 folios

1572-1575

24. GUILLERMO DE BARAHONA (William Brown). He called himself Barahona because, as he said, it was clearer to the Spaniards. He was a native of London and about 25 years of age. He served on the "Jesus of Lubeck" as a steward to Robert Barret, and was one of those put ashore from the "Minion." During his trial he was subjected to torture and afterwards condemned to receive 200 stripes and to serve in the galleys of Spain for six years.

Vol. 57. No. 1. 90 folios.

1572-1574

25. JUAN DE SAMANO (John Evans), a native of Griego (?) in England, and about 21 years of age. He was a cabin boy with Captain Hampton on the "Minion", and was put ashore near Tampico. In the auto de fe he was sentenced to serve three years in the monastery of Santo Domingo, and was formally released on 16th April, 1577.

Vol. 57. No. 2. 63 folios.

1572-1577

26. THOMAS GOODAL, a native of London, age about 30. He was a brother-in-law of Robert Barret, and joined the "Jesus of Lubeck" as a soldier, afterwards being transferred to the French ship "El Espíritu Santo" ("The Grace of God"). He escaped from San Juan de Ulua in the "Minion", and was put ashore near Tampico. During his trial he was subjected to torture. In the auto de fe he received three hundred stripes and was sentenced to the galleys of Spain for ten years.

Vol. 57. No. 3. 100 folios.

1572-1574

27. JOHN GUILBERT, also called, in New Spain, "Juan Perez", a native of London; about 29 years of age. He was a sailor on the "Minion", and after the fight at San Juan de Ulua was put ashore near Tampico. The Inquisitors examined him under torture and sentenced him to receive 300 stripes in the auto de fe and to serve ten years in the galleys of Spain.

Vol. 57. No. 4. 79 folios.

1572 1574

28. ROGER ARMAR, described as a native of Gueldres, in Germany (Gelderland in Holland); about 24 years of age. He gave

his name to the Inquisitors as Pablo Baptista. In his boyhood he had lived in Ireland, Scotland and England, and joined the "Jesus of Lubeck" as an armourer. Miles Phillips (See Hakluyt, Vol. IX, p. 428) refers to him as "Roger the Chiefe Armourer." He escaped at San Juan de Ulua, and was amongst those put ashore from the "Minion". He was sentenced in the auto de fe to have 200 stripes and to serve six years in the galleys.

Vol. 149. No. 1. 117 folios.

1572-1574

(3)

AUTO DE FE 6th MARCH, 1575.

29. GUILLERMO CORNELIUS, an Irishman, whose real name was John Martin. He gave his age to the Inquisitors as twenty-two, but they doubted his word. In his evidence he stated that his father was Peter Martin, the sacristan of the cathedral church of Cork, and that after his father's death his mother married again and he was named after his step-father. He was an ordinary seaman on board the "Jesus of Lubeck", and was one of the number put ashore from the "Minion" near Tampico. When arrested in July 1574, by order of the Inquisitors, he was in business as a barber and surgeon at La Trinidad, in Guatemala. He had married there and had one child. During his trial he was subjected to torture, and in the auto de fe was sentenced to be handed over to the secular arm for punishment. He was strangled, and his body burnt at the stake on 6th March 1575. Miles Phillips, (see Hakluyt, Vol. IX., p. 428) refers to "Cornelius the Irishman" as having been condemned in the auto de fe of 1574; but he apparently confused him with Marin Cornu, a Frenchman, who suffered at that time with George Riveley.

The original manuscript is water-stained and is crumbling to pieces.

Vol. 58. No. 6. 202 folios.

1574-1575

(4)

ADDITIONAL

30. MORGAN TILLERT, also called Miguel Morgan, a native of St. Bridgets, near Cardiff, in Wales; age about 40. He was a seaman, and appears to have served on the "Jesus of Lubeck" and the "Swallow." During his trial he was subjected to torture, and was condemned in the auto de fe of 1574 to receive 200 stripes and to serve eight years in the galleys of Spain.

The original *proceso* of Morgan Tillert, which consists of 128 folios, is in a private library in Mexico, but much of his evidence is to be found in a number of the above noted trials. Supplementary documents, relating to Morgan Tillert's property at Texcoco, will be found in Vol. 75 of the Inquisition Records in the National Archives.

(5)

TRIALS APPARENTLY MISSING FROM

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

AUTO DE FE 28 FEB. 1574.

31. JOHN BROWN, called also "Miguel Pérez", an Irishman; age

about 28. A sailor on the "Minion". Was put ashore near Tampico. Sentenced in the auto de fe to receive two hundred stripes and to serve 8 years in the galleys.

32. JUAN GUILLERMO (John Williams), also called "Juan Pérez", a native of Cornwall; age about 28. Was sentenced to receive 200 stripes and eight years in the galleys.

33. ROBERT PLINTON, a native of Plymouth; age about 30. He is referred to as having come in the "caravel" of the fleet. Was sentenced to receive 200 stripes and eight years in the galleys.

34 JOHN GREY, an Englishman; age about 22. He was an artilleryman on the "Minion". Sentenced to receive 200 stripes and eight years in the galleys.

35. JORGE DIAZ (? George Dee or Day), an Englishman; age about 30. He was a seaman on the "Jesus of Lubeck". Was sentenced to receive 300 stripes and to serve ten years in the galleys. The original manuscript of the proceedings in his trial was formerly in the possession of General Vicente Riva Palacio, who quoted extensively from it in "México a través de los siglos". (Vol. II., pp. 507-509. Barcelona 1888-89.)

A summary of the trials of John Brown, John Williams, Robert Plinton, John Grey and George Dee (or Day) will be found in the "Registro de las Publicaciones que se dieron a 29 ingleses de los que vinieron en el armada de Joan Haquines a esta Nueva España el año de 68."

Vol. 75. No. 42. 60 folios.

Nov. 1572

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

Page 26, line 9: for "private apostolic notary" read "public apostolic notary."

Page 33, line 16: for "Official Judge Provisor and" read "Judge Provisor, Fiscal and"

Page 44, line 26: this accusation, although made in the name of Pedro de Vega, was signed by the licentiate Pereyra, see transcript, page 140.

Page 61, line 12: for "Bartolomé de Equya" read "Bartolomé de Urquiza."

Page 94, line 41: for "Don Juan" read "Don Carlos."

Page 95, line 32: for "Calender" read "Calendar."

Page 103, Note 8: Ledesma, in giving evidence before the Inquisitors in 1574, stated that he was fifty years of age. He was therefore eighty when he died in 1604.

Page XXXIII. Bishop Zumárraga arrived in Mexico in December 1528. He was appointed Apostolic Inquisitor by a decree dated 27th June 1535. (See *Juan de Zumárraga*, by J. I. Icazbalceta, *Documentos*, p. 78.)
Line 12:

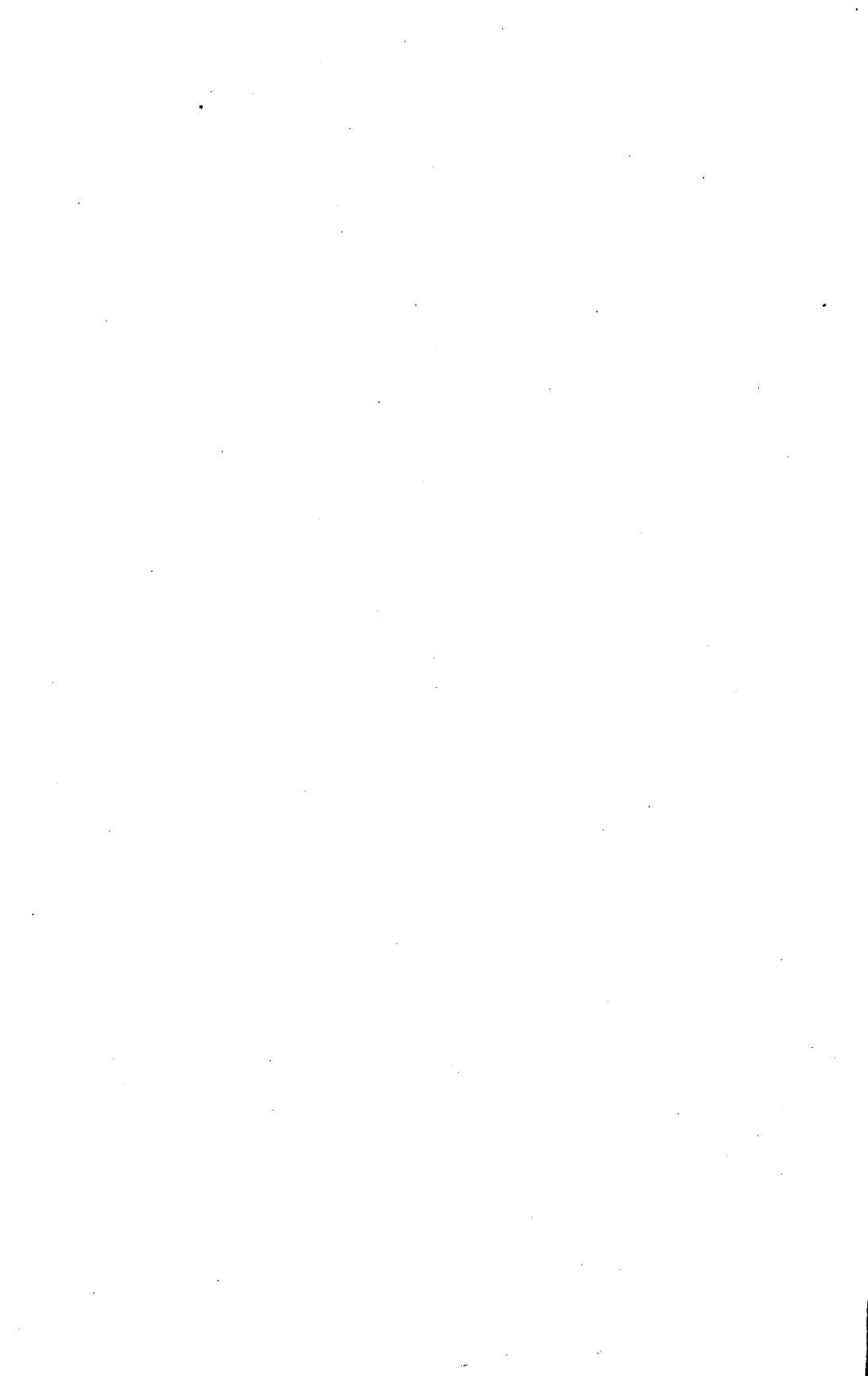
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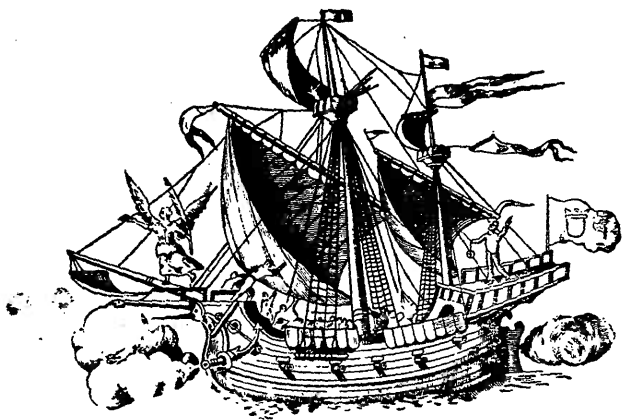
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